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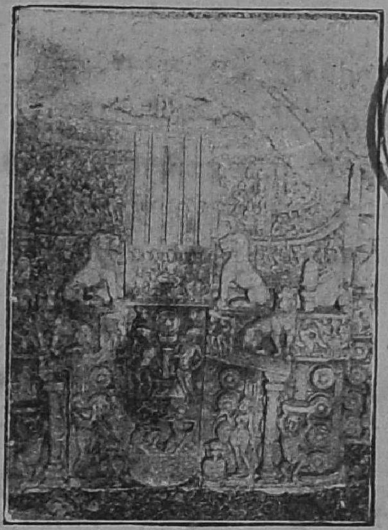

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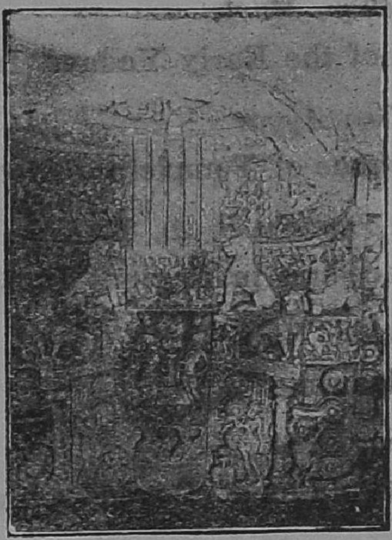

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THE
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THE NYAYA CONCEPTION OF VALID THINKING

By Mr. K. GOPALKRISHNAMMA, M.A., L.T.,

According to the Nyaya school, consciousness (बुद्धिः) exists in two forms, viz—i. direct apprehension (अनुभवः) and ii. remembrance (स्मृतिः). Direct apprehension which may be defined as consisting in the presentation of things, is of two kinds—true (प्रमा) and false (भ्रमः). True apprehension is that which is in consonance with the real character of the thing apprehended, or that which presents the thing just as it really is. For instance, a pot before us is said to be truly apprehended when it is perceived as an object possessing the real distinctive feature of a pot. False apprehension or error consists in the knowing of a thing as what it is not. For instance, a piece of shell before the eye is said to be falsely apprehended when it is perceived as silver which it is really not. Four varieties of such true apprehension are distinguished in conscious experience, and found to be produced respectively by four instruments of right cognition—i. Sense-perception ii. Inference iii. Analogy and iv. Oral testimony. For instance, (i) by means of the normal eye we have the apprehension of a jar and such other things; this kind of apprehension is known as sense-preception (प्रत्यक्षम). (ii) By means of the smoke as the indicative mark (अनुमानम्), we have the apprehension of fire; this kind of apprehension

is known as Inferential cognition (अनुमिति:). (iii) By the perception of the similarity to the cow, we have the apprehension of the fact of a particular animal bearing the name of Gavaya (गवय:). Here the resulting knowledge of the relation of words to their meanings is called 'knowledge by analogy' (उपमिति:). (4) By means of such sentences as 'one desiring heaven should perform the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice', we get at the apprehension of the fact that the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice is the means of attaining heaven.

Remembrance also is of two kinds,—(i) true or false-according as it is, or is not, in consonance with the real character of the thing remembered. Both these kinds of remembrance occur during waking time; in dreams all the cognition that exists, is of the nature of such remembrance as is not in consonance with the real thing.

It would be interesting as well as edifying to know the rationale underlying these four instruments of right cognition as accepted by the Naiyāyika. It has been accepted by all the exponents of Śāstras, as a fundamental principle of exposition, that, before establishing a doctrine, all probable and possible objections to that doctrine should be anticipated, discussed and refuted on valid grounds. In accordance with this principle the Naiyāyika who seeks to establish the necessity for recognising the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition, sets forth for a critical examination the peculiar theory of Cārvāka the crest-jewel of the atheistic school, in respect of valid thinking. The leading doctrines of the Cārvāka system are briefly as follows:—The only object of human pursuit (पुरुषार्थ:) consists in wealth and enjoyment resulting from contact with sensible objects. While life remains, let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs into debt. When once the body becomes ashes, it can never return again. There is no such thing as happiness in a future world. There is no other heaven than pleasure derived from the objects of this world. There is no other hell than pain produced by purely mundane causes, such as diseases, harmful animals, thorns etc. There is no soul in another world; nor is there any other Liberation than the dissolution of the body. The four elements—earth, water, fire and air—are the original principles. From these alone, when transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, just as intoxicating power is developed from the mixture of certain specific ingredients; and when these are destroyed, intelligence also perishes at once. Therefore what is known as the soul in the other systems is no other than the body distinguished by the attribute of intelligence. This is because there is no evidence for any soul distinct from the body. Perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) is accepted

as the only source of knowledge, and it can by no means manifest the existence of any soul distinct from the body.

It is in the light of the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body, that such usages as "I am stout", "I am fair" etc, are at once intelligible. For the self-concionsness represented by 'I', coexists with the attributes of stoutness, fairness etc, in the substratum (the body). If however the Naiyâyika says that he can prove by Inferential Reasoning (अनुमानम्) the existence of a soul distinct from the body, my reply is as follows: The object of the Naiyâyika could be gained only if it be possible to prove Reason (हेतुः) to be an instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्) in the strict sense of the term; but it would not be possible. For, Reason (=middle term= (हेतुः) as recognised by the Naiyāyikas, is such an object that, on perceiving it in a certain place (=minor term=पक्षः), we are led to conclude the existence in the same place of another object (major term=साध्यम्) closely connected with the first-perceived object. For instance, when we observe smoke (हेतुः) issuing from a mountain(पक्षः), we at once conclude that fire (साध्यम्) also must exist in the same mountain. Here the conclusion refers to the existence in the mountain of fire, and no other object, because fire alone is supposed to be invariably connected with smoke. Thus it would appear that those who maintain the authority of Reason (हेतुः) as a source of right knowledge, must necessarily accept that the possibility of a valid conclusion regarding the existence of the major term (साध्यम्) is evidently based on the existence of the relation of invariable concomitance (व्याप्तिः) between the major term (साध्यम्) and the middle term (हेतुः) from which the conclusion is drawn. It is also accepted as equally important by the Naiyāyikas that, unless sufficient care be taken in selecting the mark (हेतुः) the validity of the conclusion is sure to be vitiated if the mark in question admits of a condition (उपाधिः) in relation to the major term. For instance, the inference of smoke from fire is bound to be invalid because of the non-existence of smoke in a piece of red-hot iron which is evidently due to the condition (उपाधिः) in relation to fire and smoke as middle and major terms respectively. Here the condition is the contact of wet fuel (आर्द्रेन्धनसंयोगः) which, as defined by the Naiyāyika, is invariably

concomitant (व्यापकः) with the major term smoke, and not so (अव्यापकः) with the middle term; i. e. the major term smoke is invariably concomitant, not with every kind of fire (middle term), but with such fire as is in contact with wet fuel (=a particular condition). Thus in instances like this the Naiyāyikas themselves admit that a condition (उपाधिः) of the aforesaid nature does really exist and evidently vitiates the validity of Reasons like fire as Instruments (प्रमाणानि) leading to the knowledge of the existence of major terms like smoke. It would therefore follow that, even according to the Naiyāyikas, the validity of Inference depends upon (1) the middle term (हेतुः) being *absolutely free* from any condition (उपाधिः), either accepted (निश्चितः), disputed (विप्रतिपन्नः) or even suspected (संदिग्धः) (2) the existence of the middle term (sign or हेतुः) in the minor, and (3) the middle term being invariably connected (व्याप्तः) with the major. This invariable relation (व्याप्तिः) is helpful in causing Inference, not by virtue of its existence, but by virtue of its being *known.*

What then is the means of knowing this relation? It cannot be perception. For perception can produce the knowledge of only such objects as come in direct contact with the corresponding senses. But the invariable relation in question subsists between the objects not only of the present which can no doubt come in contact with the senses, but also of the past and the future which can by no means come in contact with the senses. So perception cannot be the means of knowing this invariable relation (व्याप्तिः).

Nor can Inference (अनुमानम्) be the means of knowing this invariable relation. For, before we apply Inference as a means, we should require another Inference to establish it; and this Inference will have to be established by a third Inference, and so on, and hence there would arise the fallacy of an *ad infinitum retro-gression* (अनवस्था)

Nor can oral testimony (शब्दः) be the means thereof. For, (1) according to the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇâda oral testimony is included in Inference, inasmuch as it depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'the language used by an old man in the presence of a child', (2) Further, when we Cârvâkas deny the existence of past authorities such as Gotama, etc, there is no use of

depending on them for believing that smoke and fire are invariably connected. (3) In case oral testimony were to be accepted as the only means of knowing this invariable relation, the following would ensue; a man who has not been made by another to understand the subsistence of the invariable relation between smoke and fire, would never be able to infer the existence of one thing (as fire) from the perception of another (as smoke).

Nor can comparison be the means for the knowledge of this invariable relation. For (1) Comparison has been included by Kaṇâda in the topic of Inference on the ground that it also depends on the recognition of a middle term (हेतुः) in the form of 'Similarity' (2) Comparison itself aims at producing the knowledge of quite a different connection, viz, the relation of a name to something so named. Thus it can be said that there is absolutely no means for the knowledge of the invariable relation on which, according to the Naiyâyika, the validity of Inference depends. In regard to the first afore-said requisite of a valid Inference it has already been pointed out that the absolute absence of a condition is the indispensable element in the definition of invariable relation; but such absence of a condition can never be known, because it is impossible to establish that all conditions must be objects of perception (योग्याः). Some of them may be non-perceptible (अयोग्याः). So, although the absence of perceptible (योग्याः) conditions may be itself perceptible, the absence of non-perceptible conditions must be itself non-perceptible (अयोग्यः). So there is always a doubt that non-perceptible conditions may somewhere exist in relation to the middle and the major terms in question. Although the relation of invariable concomitance between the middle term (as smoke) and the major term (as fire) is seen to hold good in the one thousand instances examined by us. Still there remains the doubt that there may be an instance where the relation fails (व्यभिचारः). We also realise in our experience that what holds good in ten cases (sweetness in a mango) may not do so in the eleventh.

Moreover, condition or upâdhi, (contact with wet fuel) as already defined, is that which constantly accompanies (व्यापकः) the major term (smoke) and which does not bear such relation to the middle term (as fire). From this definition it is clear that an accurate knowledge of a condition depends upon the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) between what is to be ascertained as the condition and the major term. But the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः) essentially required as the basis of Inference is such a connection between the middle term and the major term (as smoke and fire) as is distinguished

by the absence of any such condition. The knowledge of the absence of a condition should necessarily be preceded by the knowledge of that condition. Thus it is only when there is the knowledge of the condition that the knowledge of the Invariableness (व्याप्तिः) of the relation is possible. The knowledge of a condition has just now been understood as depending on the knowledge of the Invariable connection (व्याप्तिः). Thus the opponent is exposed to the fallacy of अन्योन्याश्रयः reasoning in a circle.

Of course, as a matter of fact, immediately after observing one thing (as smoke), the person thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith, and proceeds to the spot with the hope of finding it. But it can be accounted for in either of these two ways—(1) After having previously observed the two things (as smoke and fire) together in a few familiar places (Kitchen, brick-kiln, Steam Engine etc.), one may simply conjecture that they might exist together in a fifth place also. Or, on the basis of their co-existence as observed in the first four familiar places, one may peremptorily assume the thing observed (as smoke) as an authoritative mark serving as a middle term. But the conjecture as well as the peremptory assumption of authority may prove to be an illusion in some cases; and in those few cases wherein they prove true, it is only due to a mere *accident*, just like the cure effected by *chance*, through gems, charms etc. Hence, by the impossibility, as shown above, of knowing the invariableness of the relation which is held to be absolutely essential to Inference, it becomes impossible to establish the authority of Inference. When Inference cannot be an authority, it would easily follow that little or no authority can be claimed for oral testimony and Comparison both of which have already been referred to as included in Inference by the Vaisśeshika. Thus it is assertively declared by us that none but perception (प्रत्यक्षम्) can be an Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). This is the position held by the Cārvākas in respect of the Instrument of right knowledge (प्रमाणम्). With a view to refute the Cārvāka's position and to establish the authority of Inference the Naiyāyika adduces the following arguments:—

(1) The Cārvāka declares 'Nothing but perception can be an authority (प्रमाणम्)' ("नाप्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम्.") Evidently he directs his attack against Inference, verbal testimony, Analogy etc. which are all different from Preception. Well, how has he arrived at this conclusion? He must have arrived at this through some intellectual process. In case he has been led to this conclusion—viz., 'Inference is no authority'—by observing analogy (similarity) as subsisting between Inference and

something else that has been accepted (निश्चित) by all to be no authority, it is quite the same thing as concluding the presence of fire in a smoking mountain on the ground that; in respect of smoke, the mountain is quite analogous to the kitchen which has definitelv been known to have fire. Obviously the intellectual process he must have gone through is no other than what we recognise as Inferential reasoning.

(2) Again the Cārvāka has, in the course of his reasoning, distinctly said that it is due to a mere conjecture (संभावना) or illusion (भ्रमा) on the part of the person if, on observing one thing (as smoke) in a certain place, he at once thinks of another thing (as fire) connected therewith. He has also said in connection with condition that, though the absence of perceptible conditions is clearly ascertained, a doubt (संशय:) still remains to the effect that non-perceptible conditions may exist. Now how has the Cârvâka been able to ascertain these specific forms of thought—viz., conjecture, illusion and doubt? They are not within the range of Perception. He must have ascertained them by some other evidence than perception i. e., he must necessarily admit that, apart from perception, there are also other instruments of right cognition. He has just now been shown to have, of necessity, admitted the authority of *Inference.*

(3) Further, in regard to the Cârvâkas' assertion 'nothing but perception can be an authority' the following question is put to him: i. Is this statement of yours an authority (प्रमाणम्) ii or not? In the first alternative there is a clear indication of his accepting the authority of oral Testimony. Also it would be incumbent on the Cârvâka to maintain the authoritativeness of his statement by some valid reason. If so he is clearly admitting the force of a reason (हेतु:) in leading to a right conclusion. A reason capable of leading to a right conclusion is just what is recognised by us as an Inferential mark or middle term (लिङ्गम् or अनुमानम्). If however the second alternative be accepted, his statement 'nothing but perception, can be an authority' would become a non-authority (अप्रमाणम्); i. e. it would appear as if the Cârvâka means by way of implication that, apart from perception, there are other valid instruments of right cognition (प्रमाणानि) It has already been shown that he must necessarily admit the authority of Inference. If he should still persist in rejecting the authority of Inference, it can be shown that he would land himself in insurmountable difficulties even in regard to perception which he holds to be a unique authority. For, authority (प्रामाण्यम्) is an attribute which can be ascertained only by Inference, but not by perception. So, if the

authority of Inference be not accepted by the Cârvâka, even perception would become quite untenable as an authority. If however the Cârvâka should try to defend himself by holding that authority or validity (प्रामाण्यम्) is selfevident (स्वतोग्राह्यम्), then it would be impossible to account for a doubt (संशय:) which naturally arises in the form whether a particular cognition ('it will rain to-morrow') is right or not. So validity has to be accepted as being ascertainable only by Inference. (For instance, a cognition of the form 'there is water in yonder place' is valid because it leads to fruitful activity, i. e, whoever goes to that spot surely finds water.)

Thus has the Naiyâyika been able to marshal his arguments in such a way as to convince even a formidable opponent like the Cārvāka of the necessity to accept the authority of Inference. Analogy and oral testimony have already been proved to be acceptable as authorities or instruments of right cognition. One might however bring forward the following objection:—the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition do not at all represent the whole field of knowledge. This is just the reason why the Mîmāmsakas and other schools of thought felt the necessity for some more evidences, and accordingly recognised, in addition to these, some instruments of right cognition, (1) Presumption (अर्थापत्ति:) (2) Non-perception (अनुपलब्धि:) (3) Inclusion (संभव:) (4) Tradition (एतिह्यम्) and (5) gesture (चेष्टा.) Hence the Nyâya theory is defective.

This objection has no force as against us, the Naiyāyika replies. For the objector is evidently mistaken in thinking that presumption and other evidences are essentially of quite a different nature from the aforesaid four recognised by the Naiyāyika. It is possible to prove that presumption and other evidences clearly admit of being included in one or the other of the four aforesaid instruments of right cognition. For instance, presumption is applied in cases like this; when it is known that a person like Devadatta has become fat without eating during the day-time. the conclusion is drawn that he must have been eating at nights. This process can easily be put in the form of a syllogism thus (major premise) whoever becomes fat without eating in the day-time must be eating in the night. (minor premise) Devadatta is a person who becomes fat without eating in the day. (Conclusion) Therefore Devadatta must have been eating at nights. Hence what is known as presumption is no other than Inference. Similarly it would be quite possible to include Inclusion (संभव:) in Inference, Non-perception in the the perception of non-existence, Tradition and gesture in verbal Testimony. Thus the Nyâya theory of knowledge has been proved to be fully comprehensive.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PURANAS[1]

By S. BHIMASANKARARAO, B. A.

For a long time past, it has been the prevailing impression and also the accepted opinion of many orientalists that the puranas contain little or nothing of any real historical value and were merely fairy tales proceeding from the fertile imagination of grateful bards to glorify their royal patrons. These puranas have been altogether abandoned as useless for all historical purposes though some attempts have been made now and then to construct some satisfactory system of Indian historical chronology but they have not succeeded, owing to the lack of knowledge in studying and interpreting them properly. The events narrated in these puranas have been much discounted and were altogether ignored unless they were supported and corroborated by other sources. They are regarded as purely legendary containing as they do, descriptions of Superhuman beings and of the other worlds and are discarded altogether. It was only during the last quarter of a century that there has been a reaction and a growing belief that these works deserved more serious attention at the hands of the orientalists and that they were unduly neglected. The present attitude of the modern scholarship towards these documents has been changed and it was reserved for a Bengal Civilian High Court Judge the late Mr. F. E. Pargiter to rescue them from oblivion and to appraise their real historical value in 1913 by his publication of "Historical Tradition" which gives us the researches carried on by him into this neglected field of Puranas for many years. He has demonstrated that underneath the mass of legend there lies a fairly coherent skeleton of historical tradition mainly representing the standpoint of Kshatriyas and not seldom contradicting the orthodox Brāhmanic texts and this he has, with great skill endeavoured to reconstruct. It had been shown that these puranas contained valuable historical information and the description of ancient monarchs and their realms given in them are trustworthy and his publication of the Dynasties of the Kali age in accordance with the historical facts narrated in the puranas, has opened the eyes of all orientalists and a critical study of the puranas on modern scientific lines has been inaugurated. It is still in its infancy and when this important branch of ancient literature is examined by modern scientific methods such as have been applied to the Vedic age and its literature much valuable historical material is no doubt expected. Even Mr. L. D. Barnet a most

1. **Read before the Society's general meeting held on 17-1-27.**

uncompromising and unsympathetic historical critic and orientalist has said "though many of them are not prepared to accept the conclusions of Mr. Pargiter yet we must recognise the profound far-reaching effect of his historical criticism in general." He stated "though no doubt the ancient legend-mongers are utterly unreliable, ready to concoct an utterly false pedigree and when they were honest they were lamentably wrong in putting contemporary dynasties one after another and filling the gaps with wild speculation, yet after making due deduction for an abundant margin of error, the skeleton of an old tradition remains and it is no longer permissible for historians to ignore it and they must collect and analyse legends, trace them to their sources, test their credulity and classify them organically into groups." This seems to be the best testimony for the historical value of puranas. Very recently we had a further confirmation of the historical value of the puranas. It appears that the ancient Indians had extensive commercial dealings with Africa and in the course of their commercial ventures they had to find out the very sources of the river Nile in Egypt and a lot of geographical information was embedded in the Puranas which nobody could discover till now. The discovery of the sources of Nile engaged the attention of many British explorers who could not succeed. It was only very recently Lt. Col. Speke was able to discover the sources of the Nile from a map which was constructed on the information given in the Puranas by Col. Wilford in his Asiatic researches. In his book "on the discovery of the sources of the Nile" Liet. Speke, the modern discoverer of the origin of the river Nile, stated that the information which the puranas contained about the sources of the river Nile was so accurate that when planning his discovery of the sources of Nile, he secured best information from a map reconstructed out of the Puranas based on a map drawn by Col. Wilford from the information contained in the Puranas. This map traced the course of the great river Nila-Kristna, through Kusadipa, the ancient Indian name for Africa, from a great lake in Chandrasthana. It has therefore been abundantly proved that the statements contained in the puranas with regard to the various places of the world, with which the ancient Indians had commercial dealings are geographically correct. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, the eminent South Indian historian referred to the fact in his article on South Africa published in the Hindu.

That the puranas, as a class of literature, had a hoary tradition behind them, does not admit of any doubt at the present day. We first hear of Itihasa purana as a class of literature with this general title in the 15th mandala of the Atharvana Veda and in the seventh chapter of Chandogyopanishad. We need not enter into a detailed examination of the growth and development of these puranas but from the manner in which they were introduced to the notice of the people, it is abundantly

clear that they are of Kshatriya origin. The orthodox tradition is that Vyasa was the reputed author but it has been asserted that the name was only a Euphemism for a compiler. These puranas were said to have been narrated by Sûtas at the sacrifices performed by Rishis and Kings. It was Lomaharshana and his son Ugrasravas that were the reciters of the puranas during the performance of the great sacrifices by Kings and Rishis. These Sûtas would appear to be the accredited custodians of the traditional lore comprising the heroic deeds and exploits of Aryan *Rajanyah* who fought with Non-Aryans and established the Aryan supermacy in Bharatvarsha and it was usual for these Sûtas to recite songs of their praise before the assembled audience during the great Aswamedha sacrifice performed to commemmorate a big Digvijayam, which is nothing more than a defeat of the Non-Aryan forces. These Sûtas seem to be a secular institution in ancient India at the time of the Brahmana period and they were entrusted with important functions in the royal households. He seems to be a triune officer being the royal herald, ministrel and probably also master of the horse and had a seat in the king's cabinet of ministers being one of the kings *Ratnani* and corresponds approximately to the present day Lord Chamberlain. In the ancient law books he is described as the son of a Kshatriya by the daughter of a Brahmin and his chief function seems to be the chronicler of the Kshatriya kings in the heroic age when they occupied a position of considerable influence and power when the Aryan Brahmin-priest-hood was still in inferior position, and social status being dependent on Aryan Kshatriya nobility as we gather from the earliest Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhistic literature. During the Brahmana and the Epic periods, National life centred round the court of the king whose royal power was very influential and was at such a period the Epics and puranas came into existence and were essentially of Kshatriya origin and complexion. Consequently it is said that the Epics and the puranas emanated from the throne rather than from the altar. But when the priestly power eventually asserted its supremacy, all the Kshatriya literature has become Brahmanised and both the Epics and puranas underwent transformation at the hands of the Brahmin heirarchy. When this literature passed from the hands of the royal bards to the Brahmin Rishis, their whole form has been changed and the record of the lineage of princes disappeared and in its place, endless legends about holy places and thirthas and hymns in praise of Divinities were substituted and were made the subject of sectarian propaganda. While Vedas and Brahmanas were well protected from textual corruption by the elaborate devices designed by the priestly class, the Epics and puranas have adopted themselves to the changes which have taken place in the social and religious life of the people. Just as Mahabharata, which was originally the story of a great war

between Kurû Panchalas was turned into Dharma Sastra inculcating morals, so these Puranas also were changed for purposes of imparting religious and moral instruction to the public and for the purpose of spreading the Siva and Vishnu cults, the two great Divinities who share the allegence of Aryavarta. That these puranas are altogether concoctions of the middle ages by the selfish Brahmin priesthood for the perpetuation of their power and influence, cannot at all be maintained and as has been rightly observed, it is too great a strain on one's credulity. These puranas even in their changed form represent an independent tradition coming down from the Vedic period and was handed down from one generation of bards to another and was solemnly promulgated on occasions of the great sacrifices. The preservation of the dynastic lists and the lineage of kings was due to their being associated with the sacrifices at which they were recited and there can be no question of their historical character.

It was in the reign of Parikshat who was celebrated as the great king of Kurus in the Atharvana Veda, that Parâsara the grandson of Vashista, the rishi to whom the 7th mandala of Rigveda is ascribed, first recited the Vishnu purana, the Purana par excellance. Then we have the recitation of the puranas by Ugrasrava suta son of Lomaharshana to the Rishis who were performing the 12 year sacrifice in the Naimesha forest on the banks of the sacred river Drishadvati. That there was a common tradition underlying all the puranas is certain and it is also certain that 18 versions of a common tradition have developed at different centres of religious activity where local events were inserted subsequently. Thus the Brahma purana represents the Orissa version, Padma purana that of Pushkara, the Agni purana that of Gaya, the Varaha purana that of Maṭhura, the Vamana purana of Thaneswar, the Kurma purana of Benares, the Matsya of the Narbada Brahmins. It is not possible to state, at what period these 18 puranas have assumed their distinctive appellations but this must have been, after they ceased to be regarded as repositories of historical information for they are grouped in the traditional lists according to their religious character. Mr. Pargiter was of opinion that Bhavishya purana was the source of Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda and gives quotations from them in support thereof. There are clear indications that some of these puranas, Matsya, Vayu and Brahmanda were originally composed in Prakrit but were subsequently sankritised. The Vishnu, Bhagavata and Garuda were composed directly in Sanskrit.

According to the classical definition, a purana must treat of five topics, viz., Sarga, Prathi sarga, Vamsa, Manvanthara and Vamsanucharitha (Creation, Secondary creation, genealogies of Gods and rishis and groups of ages and history of royal families.)

Most of existing puranas do not conform to this ideal scheme and they differ in varying degrees. The Brahma purana stands first and it is called Adi purana and Vishnu purana stands 3rd in the list. Some are of opinion that Vayu was the oldest. We are not concerned with the first four topics treated in the puranas, but we are concerned only with the 5th section which treats of royal genealogies. That is the historical portion of the puranas. This last section gives us an account of the kings on earth and the earliest portion of these genealogies, like most of the chronicles of other nations are of a legendary character. They trace their descent from sun, and moon, and we have the two well-known lines of kings of Surya vamsa, Chandra vamsa. Such kind of pedigrees are pieced together from fragments of religious lore in accordance with old world traditions. We find from Sathapatha Brahmanȧ a legendary story ȧbout Ila, the daughter of Manu from whom the lunar family derived its name. In the same way we had another tradition about the solar family tracing its descent from Manu, through Ikshwaku, who was born from the sneeze (Kshwā) of manu as stated in Vishnu purana. Such kinds of trȧditions are common to all nations of the earth but they are all beyond the province of sober history. But when the Tribal names are found in the genealogical lists we can regard them ȧs authentic and conclude that those names really represent a people whose kings are named after them. In the Vedic literature the Ikshwakus were a family of princes belonging to the Solar dynasties of Kosala and other kingdoms to the east of Madhyadesa. There seems to be some conflict between the stȧtements made in the Vedic literature and those made in the Puranas and as stated by the writer of the Cambridge History the chain of evidence is wanting to remove the apparent contradictions. There are certain well-known landmarks both in the Mahabharata and the Puranas which undoubtedly fix the events with definite chronology and we may accept them as truly historical, for instance Pȧrikshȧt was ȧppointed as king of Hastinapura 36 years after the great war and Adhi Seema Krishna the great-great grȧndson of Parikshat is represented in the puranas as a contemporary of Divakara of Kosala and Prasenajit of Magadha. From this we can clearly deduce a fairly correct chronology of the period. The puranȧs give us detailed dynastic lists with regard to the three royal families of Purus, Ikshwakus and the kings of Magadha. This history is confined to three regions, Puru kings of Hastinapura and Kurukshetra; Ikshwakus of Kosala-Videha and Brihadradhas of Magadha, i. e. the Pȯranic history is confined to the regions now represented by the United provinces, Oudh, and South Behar.

The Puru dynasty begins with Bharatȧ Dushyanti, the great conqueror of Kurukshetra whose victories on the Ganges and Jumna were commemorȧted in Satapathȧ Brahmana ȧnd from whose name this

country was styled Bharatavàrsha. His successor Satrajit Satanikà extended his conquests as far as Kasi. The puranic lists contain the names of 29 Puru kings who reigned at Hastinapura which is usually identified with a ruined site at Meerùt in the old bed of Gànges. When this capital Hastinapura was destroyed by a great inundation of the Ganges in the reign of Nikhakshus the succeessor of Adhi seema Kristna, the capital was removed to Kausambi the present Kosam in Allàhabad (Madhya Desa) which played an important part in subsequent history. Another capital is the well-known Indraprastha where the modern Delhi stands. The Kuru kings therefore ruled à large portion of territory comprising the United Provinces ànd Agra from Meerut in the north to Benares in the south. The last of the dynasty was Kshemaka according to the Puranas who reigned after Udayana, the contemporary of Buddha. Coming now to Kosala, the Ikshwakus who were originally a brànch of the Purus ruled over the Modern provinces of Oudh and their càpital was Saketa. Ayodhya was a famous city of Kosala being the capital of Dasaratha and Rama who were both historical chàracters relegated by the puranas to a dim and distant age but there is a school of oriental thought, prominent among whom is the well-known South India historian Dr. Krishna swami Iyengar who hold that the events of Ramayana took place after the great Mahabharata war. In the puranic lists Hiranya Nabha and Pàra Atnara, probably fàther and son, were mentiond às kings who performed Aswamedha sacrifice. During Buddha's time Kosala was a predominent kingdom of northern India but it was gradually ecclipsed by the growing power of Magadha. The last of the Ikshwaku kings was Sumitra, a contemporary of Buddha and both the Puru and Ikshwaku dynasties disappear and the historical interest of puranas was then centred round Magadha which became the suzerien power in Madhya desa *(i. e.)* in northern India.

The Magadhas were unknown to Rigvedic literature and perhaps they inhabited the present Patna and Gaya districts of south Bihar. The Magadhas along with their neighbours the Angas who lived in the present Monghyr and Bhaglpur districts of Bengal were mentioned in the Atharvana veda as a people living on the extreme confines of Aryan civilization. Their kings trace their descent through their great conqueror Vasu chaidya mentioned in the Rigveda ànd his son was Brihadràtha the founder of the dynàsty known by that name. The Màgdaha empire is famous both in ancient and medieval India. Twice in its history it established great empires, the Mauryan empire in the 3rd and 4th centuries B. C. and the Imperiàl Guptà empire in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. The puranas give us eight dynastic lists with a statement of the number of years and the duration of their reigns. The dynasties 8 in number are Brihadratha, Prodyotà, Saisunaga, Nànda, Mauryà, Sunga, Kanva ànd Andhra dynasties. It is not possible within

the short compass of this paper to give even a brief account of the above dynasties as they cover a long period of more than 10 centuries. The Historical portion of the Purânâs stops with the rise of Imperial Gupta power and the Puranas state that the Gupta Monarchs were reigning at Pataliputra at that time. The Puranic account thus closes with 319 A.D. and there it stopped. We find therefore that it was during the period of Gupta monarchy when the Brahmin heirarchy regained their lost supremacy, they undertook the redaction of the puranas and especially the Vishnu and Vayu Puranas were edited then and it is these editions that are now current in present use. Some doubts have been raised with regard to the dynastic lists mentioned in the Puranas. Some dynasties were put forward as successive while others were contemporary and vice versa. The 63 manuscripts which were examined by Mr. Pargiter are rarely in agreement with regard to the number of years of each dynasty and the duration of their rule and consequently there has been much confusion in fixing their chronology accurately.

The general conclusions of Mr. Pargiter with regard to the Puranas are as follows:

1. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmânda present a remarkable similarity and they themselves declare that they were taken from Bhavishya.

2. The Vishnu and Bhagavata are very much in common and their various versions are in much more condensed forms. Some portions of Vishnu are in the ornate classical prose style.

3. All the accounts profess to be prophetic. Vishnu Purana professes to have been narrated by Pârasara and sets about the Pururava genealogy from the standpoint of Abhimanyu's son Parikshat and deals with Ikshwaku and Brihadratha dynasties from the time of the great war Mahabharata.

4. It was in the reign of Adiseema Krishna that the great 12 year sacrifice was performed by Rishis in Naimesha forest and it was then that Suta recited these Puranas.

5. Matsya, Vayu and Brahmânda, were originally in Prakrit, subsequently Sanskritised and Mr. Pargiter gives 6 reasons for the said conclusions. It is hoped that further research and study of the Puranas would enable the Orientalists to give a more satisfactory chronology.

6. The subject matter and textual peculiarities enable us to fix the times. The dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of Andhras about 236 A. D. Matsya brings the narrative to the middle of the 3rd century.

Vâyu, Brahmânda, Vishnu and Bhâgavata carry the narrative up to the rise of the Guptas who were mentioned as reigning at Prayag, Saketa and Ayodhya and Magadha. The fact that Samudragupta's

conquests were not noticed is proof positive that the puranic account closed by 335 A. D.

There are many difficult questions arising from the historical account of the puranas. The Prodyota dynasty which was identified with Punika family mentioned by Bana in the Harshacharitra were kings of Avanti in western Malwa and the puranas state that Punika the founder, slew his master Ripunjaya, the last of the Brihdrathas and anointed his son in his stead. Then the Saisunagas stepped in and took possession of Girivraja the capital of Magadha empire. Different statements were made as to whether the Pradyotas of Avanti held sway over Magadha. It was an accepted tradition that Puranas made mention only of those kings who reigned at Magadha and none others found a place there. It has been stated that both the Pradyotas and the Andhras never ruled at Magadha and how is it that their kings were mentioned in the Puranas. The intrusion of the Pradyotas and the Andhras, in the puranic list of kings was explained as the result of the suzerainity which they successfully wrested from their enemies, though they have not actually reigned at Magadha. Kharavela, the king of Kalinga and his dynasty had found no place in the Pouranic lists because he could not secure the imperial suzerainity of Magadha though he made some unsuccessful attempts.

The puranas which give the best historical information are Vâyu, Vishnu and Matsya, while Vâyu is considered to be the oldest. There can be no question that these puranas have been very greatly tampered with and added especially during the reign of Pushyamitra, the first Sungà king about 182 B. C. when there wàs a reaction against Buddhism. But so far as the historical portions are concerned, no doubt can be thrown upon them. With a view to combat the principles of Buddhism which were prevalent then, a good deàl of sectarian things were incorporated in them such as the Avàtars of Vishnu, the cosmogony of Gods and the rules for their worship. These puranas may be divided into two broad divisions às Siva puranas and Vishnu puranàs but the historian need not trouble himself with these religious classifications. The Kûrma puranà while dealing with the Avatars of Vishnu gives an extensive account of the àncient world then known and gives us much geographical information. The Padma purana contains a good number of stories which formed the foundation for all subsequent Sanskrit kavya literature. The history of the Andhra kings and of their dynasties was given in Matsya, Vayu, Vishnu and Brahmanda Puranas and the Andhrà kings generally go by the name of Sata-karnis which seems to be their family title. There have been many discrepant statements with regard to the number of Andhra kings that in the various Puranas and it has been held on close examination of all the manuscripts that there were 30 Andhra

kings who ruled over the Andhra empire for a period of 460 years according to Matsya and of 411 years according to Vayu and of 456 years according to Brahmânda, Vishnu and Bhâgavata, for a period of 4 centuries from 2nd century B. C. to 2nd century A. D.

The break up of the Mauryan and Kushan empires during the 2nd century has given an opportunity for the Andhra and Kalinga empires to shake off their dependent position and assert their supremacy. The Andhra empire made rapid strides and during the reign of the Goutami Putra Yajna Sri about 167 B. C., they wrested the imperial suzereinity of the Magadha empire. This is not the place to give a detailed history of the great Andhra empire which flourished for 4 centuries continually and no other empire had lasted for such a long time. The Andhra empire came to an end about the year 225 A. D. and upon its ruins the Imperial Gupta Empire rose. The Puranas state that the Andhras were succeeded by Yavanas and Sakas.

Much of the history of the Andhra Empire and its kings is obscure and enshrouded in darkness and it is the imperative duty of our society to rescue it from oblivion and construct a real and authentic history of the Andhra empire and its dominions. Our association can only justify its existence if it gives to the public a real history of the Andhra people during the several periods. Serious doubts have been thrown about the origin of Andhras. It has been said that Andhras were Non-Aryans and formed a portion of the Dravidian population. It is only by making a systematic and scientific study upon modern historical lines into the neglected field of Puranas that we can only be able to construct a good history of the Andhra people. The historical importance of the puranas, especially with regard to the Andhra history has been abundantly testified by Dr. Vincent Smith himself who stated that the statements of Puranas with regard to Andhra history are correct and accurate. The value of inscriptional evidence is very much discounted at present because they were the compositions of grateful benefeciaries and court poets, whose object was to glorify their royal patrons and not hand down a correct record of the events to posterity and as such the statements contained in them are much exaggerated and prejudiced. Consequently inscriptional evidence is not valued highly under the Canons of modern historical criticism. I do not mean to say that they must be eschewed altogether not but only I desire, to give to it undue weight. There is no use of dabbling in inscriptions recorded under circumstances, of which we have no definite knowledge. Barring inscriptional evidence, we have to fall back upon Puranas and other contemporary literature and explore all the avenues which would give us accurate historical information. The standards of historical criticism have of late been made very stringent and it is difficult no doubt to satisfy its canons. But a straight endeavour must be made to

construct an accurate Andhra history. Particular periods may be taken up and dealt with in a thorough manner. I therefore put forward an earnest plea for the study of the Puraṇas from a historical point of view. I hope and trust that adequate measures would be taken up by our Andhra Historical Research Society to bring into existence a true and authentic history of the Andhra Empire and its Peoples.

"THE PATHLESS COUNTRIES OF THE LADHAS"

By B. SINGH DEO, B. A.

Modern scholars very often use 'Lâdha' as the corrupt form of Râdha. Such misuse has led the research scholars to create a mountain of a mole hill. A little consideration of the matter may easily clear our mis-apprehension. The dispute on the word Lâdha has reached its zenith in commenting upon the adventures of the mother of Simhabahu, the prince of north Kalinga. On her way to Magadha, she had to cross the territory of Lâḍha. Here we find the first mention of this country. Again it is written in the Jain Aryanga Sutta that the Mahâvîra "travelled in the pathless countries of the Lâdhas in Vajjabhumi and Subbabhumi"[1] The use of the above sentence very clearly shows that Vajjabhumi and Subbhabhumi were the respective names of the two countries which were inhabited by the people called 'Lâdhas.' I have shown in my note on Vajjabhumi and Subbhahhumi[2] that the Lâdhas are a hill tribe and they are still predominant in Dhalbhum, Singbhum, Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and Bumra. Formerly, both Vanjabhumi and the present district of Singbhum were part and parcel of ancient Utkala. And that portion of it which was specially inhabited by the Lâdhas was designated as Lâdha. Therefore, we may safely assert that Lâdha comprised both Vanjabhumi and Simhabhumi together. As the country of the Kalingas was called Kalinga, that of the Dosarnas as Dosarna, so also the land of the Lâdhas was known as Lâdha. If you look at the map of Seraikella state in Singbhum, you can easily see the Lâdha-hill, which is still presided by the tribal Diety of the Lâdha called Lâdha-pat. The aboriginal tribes still worship the above hill-god with much pomp and grandeur. At the foot of the said hill is a village called Lâdha which was formerly occupied by the Lâdhas who are almost extinct now in that state. But their number is note-worthy in Mayurbhanj (Vanjabhumi) and the Kolhan Government estate of Singbhum which from the border line of Seraikella on the east and the south respectively. "Bengali historians generally identify Lâdha with Râdha or west Bengal. Others locate it in Guzrat, and others again combine the two, and find in the legend an indication of two streams of Aryan colonisation of Ceylon one from Kalinga and another from Guzrat side. But the Râdha of west Bengal first finds mention in the Bhaviśya Purana written not earlier than 6th century A. D.[3]. While Dr. Aiyangar holds

1. J. A. S. B. (New Series), Vol. IV, pp. 285-86.
2. J. B. O. R. S., March 1927.
3. J. A. H. R. S., July 1927.

that "the Lâdha, under reference, is eastern Prakrit form of Râdha, a division of Vajjabhumi on the banks of the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in Modern language West Bengal." Like Mr. M. M. Chakravarty, Dr. Aiyangar too takes no account of the Lâdhas as a hill tribe whose existence is still visible in the above mentioned countries. Mr. Chakravarti's mis-interpretation of Jaina account is solely responsible for the mis-guidance of the later scholars in identifying Lâdha with Râdha.

If Mr. Chakravarty's interpretation is accepted, then we cannot but come to the conclusion that Râdha was in existence at the time when the Mahâvira lived and propagated Jainism. But nobody finds any mention of Râdha at that time. On the other hand, the learned author gives no account of Vajjabhumi. Only he says that it has been 'graphically described.' Again, from the said account it is known that after visiting Vajjàbhumi and Subbhabhumi, Mahavîra came to the country of the Utkalas. The very descriptions of the Jaina preachers say that it was a rude and unreclaimed forest land. In my opinion, the wild tribes of this forest tract were addressed by the Aryans as Ladhas. Because, it comes from the original Sanskrit word "Lubdhaka" i. e., a hunter. Briefly, they were a wild tribe who lived on hunting wild animals, birds and other forest products. A similar mis-interpretation of an account has been detected by Prof. Radha Govinda Basak in the Rampal Charit edited by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri. And it is a matter of great regret to say that even a scholar like R. D. Banerjee accepted the said mis-interpretation in the said book without any the least hesitation. The thing is, our scholars often fail to undergo difficulties in visiting the practical fields of research and make a thorough study of the disputed subjects as generally the European Scholars do. They are very fond of sitting in libraries and writing out articles after comparing this and that view. When we find in the Jaina literature an account of the Lâdhas as a rude people amongst whom the Jaina preachers preached their relegion and which account cannot but be considered as much earlier than that of the Bhavishya Purana, it is rather ludicrous on our part to try to establish a firm connection between Lâdha and Râdha. "Even during the early period of the 11th Century A. D., the name Lâdha occurs for the tract in the Tirumali Inscriptions of Southern India though the name Râdha was then fully current in Bengal."[4] From the above hypotheses, we may draw the conclusion that Lâdha was a separate country and it existed from very ancient time without having any concern with Râdha or west Bengàl. That Lâdha is West Bengal or Râdha is therefore out of the question. In another article, I shall make an attempt to write something on the Lâdhas.

4. '**Aboriginies of Central India.,' p. 44.**

ASVI PLATES OF THE EARLY YADAVA IRAMMADEVA

A feudatory of the Deccan Châlukya Vikramâditya VI. of Saka 1020

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., Rajkot.

These plates were discovered in the village Āsvi in the Sangamner Taluk of the Ahmednagar District in the Bombay Presidency. Subsequently they were acquired by the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Mandala, Poona and Published in Marathi in the third volume of the Quarterly Journal.

These are three plates held together by a copper ring and containing a sanskrit inscription in Nāgari characters of 85 lines of writing. The record opens with an invocation of the God Śankara. Then the geneology of the early Yādava family to which the donor of the grant belonged is given thus. There was a king named Dṛḍhaprahāra, who hailed from Dvārāvati Pattana and founded a town named Chandrādityapura. His son was Seuṇachandra who founded a town named Seuṇapura in Sindinêra. His son was Dhāḍiyappa. After him the following kings–Bhillama, Śrîrāja, Vaḍḍiga, and Bhillâma II ruled successively. Bhillama II's wife was Lacchiyavvā and son was Vesuka, whose son was Bhillama III, also called Mallika. In his family was born Seuṇachandra, who defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after the death of Bhillama. Seuṇachandra's son was Irammaḍeva, who conquered the kingdom of seven divisions, which king Bhuvanaikamalla could not conquer and handed it over to king Paramardin. Irammadeva's wife was Yogallā.

The inscription then states that on monday, the 15th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1020 Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Irammadeva ruling over Seuṇadeśa during the victorious rule of the Chālukya sovereign Tribhuvanamalla Paramardideva, issued a grant from Narmadāpura on the bank of the Narmadā.

The donees were thirty-one Brahmaṇas, the chief of whom was named Kûkalapaṇḍita, of Kāsyapa gotra who had migrated from Karahāra. The property granted to him consisted of the village Koṇkaṇegrāma (modern Konkaṇagaon) situated in the Sangamnar sub-division of 84 under Śrînagara division of one thousand in the Seuṇadeśa. The grant was written by Palakaraṇi Harischandra.

Three grants of this early Yādava family of Seuṇadeśa were so far known: the Sangamnar grant of Śaka 922 of Bhillama II, *(Ep. Ind. Vol. II p. 212)*, the Kalas-budruk grant of Ś. 948 of Bhillama III

(Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII p. 117) and the Bassin grant of Ṡ. 991 of Seuṇachandra *(Ibid. Vol. XII p. 119)*. The present grant of Ṡ. 1020 of Irammadeva is the fourth and the last. Except of course the formal matter it is almost identical with the Bassin grant of Seuṇachandra, the father of the donor of the present grant.

Irammadeva, the donor of the present grant is no doubt to be identified with Parammadeva (probably a mis-reading for Irammadeva) the son and successor of Seuṇachandra as recorded in Hemādris *Vratokhanda* (*Bombay Gaz Vol. I-II. p. 235)*. The Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa, as their grants suggest, were loyal feudatories of the Deccan Chalukya sovereigns, though in the long list of their fuedatories, the name of the family is not found. *(Ibid. p. 451*). A record of A. D. 1088–89 speaks of the Chālukya sovereign Vikramāditya VI crossing the Narmadā and conquering the kings on the other side of the river and another of A.D. 1098 shows that again he was in the northern part of his empire on the banks of the Narmadā *(Ibid. p. 452*). The present inscription confirms in clear words this account and shows that the northern extremity of the empire of this greatest Chālukya sovereign was the river Narmadā defended by the fuedatory Yādavas of Seuṇadeśa.

The plates will in due course of time be edited in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

It has been laid down by a specialist in the study of the Hindu customs and religion that even the most unimportant and simple of the numerous rites and observances of the Hindus are based on some religious principle or other and that nothing is left to chance. Everything is laid down by rules based on the foundation of religion pure and simple. Temples are considered to be "hallowed grounds and great teachers or piety" to all classes of persons. Hence the sages of old have laid down that a temple is a *sinequanon* in all villages and towns and men and women should never live in a place not made holy by the radiating influence of a central shrine. A study of what is given below in general terms regarding Hindu temples and what they are intended to signify would show one why so much importance was attached to Hindu shrines by the Indian ages of old. A custom or rite, a religious treatise or a sacred edifice have each a lesson to teach and a purpose to serve people in various stages of advancement. In sacred treatises like the Indian Epic *Râmâyana* it is laid down in the very first chapter the benefits that would accrue to individuals of different grades in advancement and temparament by a careful study of the same. The same is said to be the case with the wonderful work "*Bhagavat gîta*" or the Lord's Song. They say that the work can inspire and instruct an advanced *Yôgi* as well as a layman, of course on their respective levels even as a plot of ground does to different individuals of different professions. A Geologist will naturally be attracted to it and view it from his scientific standpoint while a ryot at the same time would deduce in his own mind that the soil would be fit for the cultivation of this or that kind or grain. An artist viewing the splendours of the sunset would envy nature since he could not with all his skill transfer the same in toto to his canvas while one devoid of aesthetic tastes and artistic temperament would see nothing of the beauties referred to above, nor would he feel even a tithe of the enthusiasm and rapture of the other though he was standing by his side under conditions exactly similar.

The same may be said of Indian Temples also. To a philosopher it is pregnant with meaning and symbolical representation of the highest truth, while to an ordinary man or woman it is nothing more than a holy place inhabited by the deity of his or her religion resorting to which one could escape from evil or obtain benefits mundane or heavenly. Treatment of the subject on hand from any point other than

ordinary man's stand point might fail to achieve the end in view. So philosophical and other higher level deductions of truth and explanations have been carefully excluded from here.

Within easy reach of all and provided with a tank, a temple was the resort of the villagers during the cool evening hours not only to perform their evening ablutions in the temple tank but also to pass in calm meditation and contemplation an hour or two at their disposal after perhaps a hard day's labour. Further, the water in the temple tank was considered not only holy by the magnetised water poured on the deity being allowed to gather in it, but also capable of curing ailments corporeal of the devotees caring to take baths in it on account of the rain water falling over and passing by gardens full of plants of medical properties accumulating in it. Goat's milk is considered to possess special medical virtues by reason of the animal eating any and every kind of plant. Further, the food the cattle lives on is considered to be of immense use and effect in the quality and property of the milk supply obtained from those animals. Hindu physicians are of opinion that the milk from a cow or a goat obtained today may be quite different in effect tomorrow on account of the difference in the fodder they were fed upon.

The same principle may be applied to the supply of water to a tank, river or a lake. Hence water saturated with the principles of the sacred plants cultivated in the temple gardens as well as the air impregnated with the odour from such plants should have specific effects on men and women systematically using them day after day.

The *Sthânîka* or the temple priest holding hereditary office and enjoying not only the produce and income from the temple land set apart for the purpose but also the portions of the offerings to the deity by the villagers has to keep the temple open and perform pooja or worship for the deity and offer offerings of cooked rice, cocoanuts, plantain fruits, flowers, pan-supari and so on in the morning, at noon and in the evening after sunset. When any of the villagers approached the deity to make obeisance and solicit blessings, the priest should offer him spoonfuls of holy water, flowers taken from the deity and pinches of holy ashes or red-saffron. If available food, cakes, fruits, sandal-paste and other offerings offered to the deity are also freely distributed to the devotees resorting to the temple.

Pious people in ancient times had set apart land or wealth so that the income derived therefrom may be utilized for the above purpose. And it is used to be a common sight that crowds of piligrims and the hungry were gathered in temples awaiting the hour of distribution of the offerings placed before the deity. This is akin perhaps to the Christian custom of saying grace before food is served on the table for those assembled.

India is a land of people holding sectarian customs and beliefs and as regards the temple they resort to and worship, they may be classed under devotees of Siva, devotees of Vishnu and devotees paying impartial reverence, obeisance and worship both to Siva and Vishnu alike. To suit the taste and temperament of these devotees, different temples had to spring into existence in different places in the land. But there are temples too in the land that are supposed to be divine in origin and *not* man-made, though he might have taken active part in their initial erections and subsequent additions and improvements.

According to the main classification of devotees into saivites or followers of Siva and Vaishnavites or the followers of Vishnu and the temples they resort to, the temples themselves may be sharply divided into Siva temples and Vishnu temples. It goes without saying that the Saivites frequent Siva temples and the Vaishnavites the Vishnu temples, while the class of devotees of even temperament — that is, neither strong saivites rejecting Vaishnavas and their temples and going by the name of Veerasaivas nor strong Vaishnavites despising the Saivites and their shrines and going by the name of Veera Vaishnavas attend both the temples and offer offerings and pay homage and obeisance to the deities therein impartially.

Though the main temples in the land are dedicated either to Siva or to Vishnu we have yet innumerable other temples dedicated to this or that deity—to wit, the elephant headed deity called Vinâyaka and Pillayâr and Hanumân kovil or temple dedicated to that messenger follower and disciple or Śrî Râma the hero of the Indian epic *Râmâyana* to quote one from the side of Saivities and another from that of Vaishnavites out of a very large number. There are also temples to village and miscellaneous deities generally worshipped by the lower caste people of the land. The worship in such temples are generally performed by non-brahmans and certain peculiar ceremonies undertaken by piligrims to such temples are fire-walking, *kâvadi*-bearing, piercing sharp metallic wires into the body, walking on sandals with sharp pins, *karagam*-carrying on the head etc. But the temples to these minor deities are very simple though in the case of other saivite and vaishnavite temples, according to the "*South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*" pages 2 and 3, they "consist of a cell called the *Garbha-griha*,—the central shrine, surmounted by a spire or dome, with a hall in front, called *Mukha-Mandapa* and a narrow passage or vestibule connecting the two, called the *Ardha-mandapa* which is open on two sides to permit of the priestly worshippers circumambulating the central shrine. In the *Mukha-mandapa* or just outside it will be placed the image of the deity's chief vehicle, the Nandi-bull in Siva temples and the Garuda bird in Vishnu temples. This is generally the limit up to which the non-Brahman classes are allowed to come. Round and outside of these are the *Mahâ-mandapa*, the big hall, and other pavilions

in which on special occasions processional images of the diety are placed and worshipped. Next after the *mahâ-mandapa* there will be two raised platforms, one behind the other, on one of which is planted the flagstaff or *dhwaja-stambha*, made of stone, wood or metal, and on the other is offered what is called the *Srîbali*, where sacrificial cooked food and flowers are offered to the minor divinities or powers who have to be appeased in order to ward off all evil and to prevent disturbances to the ordinary conduct of daily worship. It is only up to this limit that foreigners are allowed to enter the temples by the orthodox Hindu.

In temples of any importance there will be a separate shrine for the goddess, but generally on a smaller scale than that of the chief deity. There are separate places for the kitchen where the offerings are prepared with scrupulous regard to ceremonial purity; there are store-houses where the articles required for a year's consumption in the temple are stored; and there is generally a fresh water well which is often the best source of drinking water in the village. The whole group of buildings is surrounded by high *prâkâra* walls, whose gate-ways are surmounted by the characteristic towers which lend distinction to a temple city. In some cases there will be outside the temple a big pleasure tank, generally square in size, built round with stone steps on all sides, and with a central *mandapa*, where once a year the god and goddess are taken in procession for the floating festival."

In both the siva temples and the vaishnava temples, there are shrines set apart dedicated to the respective goddesses—the consorts of Siva and Vishnu. But as Vinâyaka and Hanumân are eternal celibates it goes without saying that their temples are of bachelor ones and hence there are no shrines of female deities attached to them.

There is an Indian proverb which says that one should not go visiting kings, deities in temples and elsewhere, his *guru* or preceptor, a child or a pregnant woman empty handed. So people when they go to temples take with them the necessary materials for an ordinary *pûja* or worship of the deity and a brief description of which will not be out of place here but prove highly interesting.

The deity is first given a bath and then decorated with clothes, jewels and garlands of flowers. Then scented smoke, lighted wicks and lighted camphor are offered. Then the offerings of cocoanuts, fruits, cooked rice, cakes etc., are offered. These they say are symbolical of the five elements fire, air, earth, water and space. As everything in the universe comes out of Him and merges in Him as a verse in an *upanishad* says, it is but proper that the elements out of which everything visible or capable of being sensed has come into existence are offered to Him by the people in the fulness of their heart's gratitude. This accounts for the temples dedicated to the five elemental Gods viz;

Conjeevaram for earth, Tiruvannâmalai for fire, Jambukêswaram for water, Kâḷahasti for air and Chidambaram for ether, being held in high esteem. A detailed description of these temples appears in my work on *South Indian Shrines.*

The devotees attending a temple generally perform what is called *pradakshanam* or Circumambulation. They go round and round a temple or the temple *prâkâra* (Court) a number of times. The object with which this is being done is not clear. Many people go to the temples with a view to get themselves cured of certain ailments and perhaps this exercise was purposely designed for them and stamped with the seal of religious obligation. This is all the more probable since in villages people very rarely have opportunities for taking systematic physical exercise, and the open space in the temple scented with the frangrance of flowers from the temple gardens is best suited for the purpose.

Systematic observance of a practice adopted after deep and mature consideration is considered to be the first step in the ladder of progress in the path leading to *Mukti* or freedom from birth and death. Day after day, week after week, and year after year an aspirant for *mukti* should, without break, carry out a practice he has resolved to follow. What else but a temple can give him a better opportunity to test the strength of his resolution?

In addition to what has been set forth above, a temple may be said to be instrumental in bringing about social gathering and enjoyment. The annual and periodical observances of festivals in temples furnish men, women and children, gala days and they flock to the temples to participate in the festivities, and the rejoicings during those occasions. Temple images are brought out to be taken round in procession through the main streets of the towns and the villages either on *vâhanams* or vehicles belonging to the several deities, to wit, Bulls, Elephants, Brahmani-Kite, and so on or on cars dragged through by the people with great zeal and enthusiasm, pipers piping, drums beating and the holy brahmans reciting in chorus sacred vadic hymns and philosophical verses going by the name "*Thêvâram*", "*Thiruvâimoli*" etc: in tamil. Periodical float festivals are also held in temple tanks or in lakes near. The temple images of deities are placed on beautifully decorated rafts and rowed round and round with immense enthusiasm and delight. To break the monotony of life we find temples affording excellent opportunities as set forth above.

It is human nature that it craves for some means or other to show forth the innate love by concrete physical actions. People blessed with children show that unselfish love towards them in various ways such as fondling them and providing them with toys, cakes, jewels, dresses and so on. But people not blessed with children as well as people whose temperaments are such that children could not draw out of them

any such love, have in temples an object in the deity whereon their love and affection could be bestowed in the shape of devotion and offerings. This showing forth to the temple deity of love and affection is termed *Bhakti* in mystic parlance.

That Temples are edifices of great public utility in other ways also may be evinced from the fact that many a public meeting and religious discourse, discussion and lecture have been held in the temple *Mandapams* or halls. It is said that when Haidar Ali had camped at Chidambaram, the famous religious centre in the south Arcot district, he held his durbâr in the thousand-pillared mandapa or hall of the temple for days together finding it sufficiently accommodating and convenient.

That the welfare of the village and the people dwelling in it depends upon the welfare of the temple is a belief of every true Hindu from time immemorial. A great deal of care is taken in choosing the plot and the plan of erection of even an ordinary house to insure the happiness and welfare of the would-be dwellers therein. If any of the principles of house building in the right manner as laid down in the *silpa-sâstra* or the science of Architecture is violated and the building erected, then there is the danger of the owner of the house as well as the dwellers therein coming to grief. A faulty building is supposed to have caused not only misery but also death to successive owners of the same. A house when completed violating the principles laid down, brings harm only to one person or family, while a temple so constructed brings ruin and disaster on the whole village. Such indeed is or at any rate was the belief of the Hindus. The construction of a temple in the right manner is said to bestow on the donor merit immeasurable whereas woe to the architects and originators of faultily built temples!!!

The same may be said of images made and installed in temples with proper rites and ceremonies that make the locality a centre of radiating influence. If properly made and installed, they bestow happiness and prosperity on all, especially on the village and the villagers. Otherwise they bring on untold misery and wretchedness to all concerned.

Power and wealth in the hands of the good and the virtuous are boons and blessings indeed bestowed on humanity, whereas the same in the possession of the wicked and the unscrupulous would prove a veritable curse to all. The same may be said to be the case with the influence radiating from well-conceived or ill-conceived temples and temple images. Just as there are two uses for everything namely good use and bad use, temples and images in them have also two influences benignant and malignant is a fact believed in by the people of India. They, of course, try to avoid the latter and encourage the former by taking all possible care.

The citing of a few instances of the benignant and malignant influences exerted respectively by well-formed and ill-formed images of

Gods and Goddesses would surely be a fitting *coup de grace* to this aspect of the subject of enthralling interest. Let us say in passing that the images installed after the due performance of *Prânapratista* or life-giving rites and ceremonies have a sort of craving for the finest ethereal portion of physical food stuff and this feeling may be compared to the feeling of hunger in men.

Just as hunger is appeased by the food taken by men, the life instilled images are also satisfied if food is but placed before them as offerings. Big grown up men require more food while young children are satisfied with a small quantity of it. The same is the case with images life-instilled small and big. The bigger the image the larger should be the quantity of food, etc placed before it as offering to fully satisfy the ethereal craving resembling our hunger. Hence it is that small images only are placed in houses where only a small quantity of food is cooked, whereas very big images are placed only in temples and very large quantities of food are placed before them as offerings.

This fact may be seen if one takes the trouble to go to the famous *Natarâja* temple at Chidambaram and witness one of the *pâvâdai* offerings to the deity. The report of the Madras Epigraphical Dept. for the year 1913–14 mentions on pp. 18 and 89 about the temple. Most of the inscriptions copied during the year refer to the later chôḷa kings and register grants of land for flower-gardens. In a few cases, gifts of land are also made for maintaining worship, offerings and festivals in the temple, for feeding houses, for founding streets' an *agrahâra* or a new shrine, and for providing "special food offering known as *pâvâdai* which is observed even to this day. Boiled rice of determinate quantity is spread evenly over a plate measuring about 6 feet by 4 feet and offered in front of the *Natarâja* image."

Coming to the malignant influence exerted by ill-formed images the following instances are interesting to note. An ill-formed image (or it may be a properly formed one but proved dangerous being insufficiently fed or not fed at all) causing misery and death to the villagers was thrown out and was made use of by a butcher to keep the meat on. When the same image was reclaimed on a subsequent occasion and installed in a temple it is said to have expressed its desire through human agency by obsessing one, that it liked very much to go back to the butcher and enjoy the treat of meat showering on him in return untold wealth in the shape of profit in his bloody trade!! In another instance an image received by a brâhman as a gift was said to have caused him untold misery and sickness. When he disposed of it by gifting it over to another, the new recipient also shared the fate of the first recipient. When he placed the image in a temple to get rid of it, the temple priest had to undergo difficulties and troubles untold. Eventually the image was said to have been dropped into an out-of-the-way well.

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A well-formed image is said to have raised a poor soldier to a very high rank in the army!!

With such beliefs it is but proper that temples and images must be brought into existence in strict accordance with the principles laid down in the Hindu *sâstras* for the good of the people and the king.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

"Architecture" is the art of building according to principles which are determined not merely by the ends the edifice is intended to serve, but by considerations of beauty and harmony. It is not the art of building simply or even of building well. The end of building as such, is convenience and use, irrespective of appearance, and the employment of materials to this end is regulated by the mechanical principles of the constructive art. As an art, the end of architecture is so to arrange the plan, masses, and enrichments of a structure as to impart to it, interest, beauty, grandeur, unity and power. Architecture thus necessitates the possession by the builder of gifts of imagination as well as technical skill.'

'Like the other arts, architecture did not spring into existence at an early period of man's history. The ideas of symmetry and proportion which are afterwards embodied in material structures, could not be evolved until at least a moderate degree of civilisation has been attained. The efforts of primitive men in the construction of dwellings must have been at first determined solely by his physical wants. Only after these had been provided for, and materials amassed on which his imagination might exercise itself, would he begin to plan and erect structures, possessing not only utility, but also grandeur and beauty. We can hence say that the evolution of man and the evolution of Architecture have been brought about *pari passu*.'

Everywhere, the temples as public places of worship are the common property of all. Hence the evolution of temple architecture is very interesting to study. In fact, that the temples are the most magnificent edifices in every country is an acknowledged fact. It is said that the grandest architectural efforts of the Egyptians are shown in their built temples. In other countries also, the grandest efforts are shown in temple architecture. The reason for this is obvious. In ancient times, the function of a ruler was combined with that of a religious preceptor of the people in one individual. Hence he was able to command vast sums of money and immense labour for improving and refining temple architecture. Further, the religious aspect of the undertaking induced the workman to throw their religious fervour into their work. In fact very great inspiration has come to many of the temple architects, because of this fervour which has lifted them to very high levels of imagination. Even now the famous pipers of southern India are at their best not among the multitude assembled on marriage occasions,

but in the service of Gods in temples on festive occasions when they are full of religious enthusiasm.

We have heard of people who have endowed fabulous wealth to the services of God and the way in which these sums were utilised was in erecting temples of fine architectural design. We have also heard told that women in moments of religious fervour have made a present of all their ornaments to temple images of Gods. On certain festive occasions like the *Brahmôtsavam* festival of the deity presiding over the temples, jewels worth many lakhs of rupees are collected from the wealthiest of the place to decorate the images of the God and the Goddesses. Garlands formed of many ear ornaments set with brilliants together with innumerable other ornaments set with very valuable precious stones decorating the images on those occasions, are lent by the people with a religious fervour, really admirable and purely Indian one can say.

Work of art should be exhibited only in places thronged by people, if it should be properly appreciated. What other place, but the temple visited daily by hundreds of people not only local, but also coming from the different parts of the land, is best suited for the purpose? The most important sacred places are Chidambaram, Madura, Ramêswaram and Conjeevaram and in these places the temple architecture is a sight worth seeing indeed. The other places such as Hampi, Halebid, Mahâbalipuram &c., have also fine temples built at tremendous cost and labour. Thousands of masons have worked for years together to erect the lofty spires. Thousands of sculptors have carved the images on the walls and pillars and the niches of these temples. The trellis work designs on rock gates of temples are really works of art we can say. The porticos in the several *prâkâras* (Rectangular or circular pathways in the temple) can accommodate several thousands of people on festival occasions. The steps of the sacred tank of the temple, the porticos surrounding the tank for the devotees of God to sit and meditate on him, the mandapam in the middle of the tank itself to which the deity is taken annually, have all received their due share of care and attention to beauty, harmony, grandeur, unity and power.

God as the supremest being in the universe, must have a dwelling suitable for his dignity. God as a being eminently beautiful, must have everything around him highly beautiful. God as a being of might, must have a building grand and powerful. As God has created the universe well, his temple must be well built. This has been the ideal of the people.

Great philosophers and poets have graphically described the various forms seen in the universe to be really portions of one grand design. Some philosophers have also compared the universe to a tree and the various forms seen there to the various parts of the tree such as trunks, twigs, leaves, flowers, flower-buds, fruits and so on. So a grand design is a *sine qua non* now in all temples.

The lofty spires in temples represent not only the triumph of God, but they also represent the lofty levels from which inspiration &c are brought down. When going from below, we may say that men should rise to a very high level to understand God and bring the knowledge down to the lower levels. Every work must have a design archi-typal in the mental level to be crystallised in this physical world. An Engineer before erecting an edifice first forms a picture of it in his mind and then brings it down to the physical as an accomplished work. Similarly a man must rise beyond the mind even to understand God and materialise the knowledge in the lower levels.

A temple has towers on all the four sides. At the base of these towers, there are entrances. Surrounding the temples there are cities. This is symbolical. God manifests himself in every direction is shown by such a design. The design also means that people can approach God from every direction, since he is everywhere. God goes out to people in the cities through the various directions and people go to him entering his dwelling from the different directions.

The building of a public temple is considered to be a charity of great merit and virtue in India. Hence Kings of old spent a large portion of the revenue to build or renovate temples. They set apart portions of land for the upkeep of such temples. Even now the temples at least many of them depend on such gifts of land made by the former kings for their upkeep. People willingly and gladly subscribe large sums if they are approached for subscriptions for building new temples or renovating the old ones. The Nâṭṭukkôṭṭai chetties of southern India have spent and are still spending vast sums because of this belief though it is to be regretted they do not care to understand the principles laid down in the *silpa sâstra* for such renovations and follow them. Almost all the important temples are pulled out and rebuilt in a grand scale by them.

A temple building has a design of its own. There must be a particular symmetry and arrangement in the structure. Any deviation from the established order in the design, any alterations in the symmetry and proportion of the several parts have to bear to one another, is supposed to cause death to the planner and the builder!! Even the village or city on which it is situated goes to ruin if the established rule is violated!!!

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B. A., B. L.

The charge is generally brought against graduates that they are not sufficiently acquainted with the past history of their country and its institutions; and the accusation is not wholly unfounded. The conditions of study in our Colleges are not quite favourable to the acquisition of ancient learning and when we leave the portals of the University and enter those of life, the struggle for existence occupies most part of our time and energy and very little of either is left to be spent upon so unfashionable and non-lucrative an occupation as the study of the past. It is, therefore, no wonder if some of us have come to think that we have no past worth knowing. But this attitude is quite untenable. We, as a nation, are, after all, what our past history has made us and however successfully we may attempt to improve upon that foundation, we cannot act as if we have had no past. That is to say, we cannot, to borrow a much hackneyed simile, begin with a clean slate. Our slate has been considerably scribbled upon. We may perhaps form new figures and pictures by lengthening, broadening or deepening the old lines or drawing fresh lines where there is space left; but we cannot wipe off the old lines with a single application of the sponge. The proper thing would be to engraft the new learning upon the old so as to make them both grow into an organic whole. To put it in another way, the practical teaching of the modern culture should be superimposed on the spiritual basis of the ancient Indian culture, so that, on the one hand, the activities which the former is calculated to stimulate—not by being employed in pursuit of unsatisfying and cross purposes run to waste—may be properly directed and guided by a knowledge of the true goal towards which all human action must converge and, on the other hand, the latter may be prevented from degenerating into fatalism, superstition and inaction. If this be so, it is imperatively necessary that we should be in touch with our national literature and culture.

For some years past, there have been signs of a reviving interest in the ancient culture of this country. This is partly due to the spirit of enquiry and comparison which the modern education inculcates and partly to the examples set by the great Orientalists of the West from Sir William Jones downwards.

This paper is based chiefly on Mâdhavâchârya's Vyavahâra Kânda. This treatise purports to be a part of Mâdhava's Commentaries on Parâsara Smriti but is not really based on that Smriti, for, Parâsara did not treat of law at all. Mâdhava has supplied the omission by

collecting what is said on the subject in the other smritis and his dissertation is a digest of jurisprudence based on those Smritis. The book treats of the substantive as well as the adjective law and I have chosen the latter as the subject of this paper, because it is the less known of the two. For, while a portion of the ancient substantive law of the land is still administered by our Courts, the judicial procedure prescribed in the Smritis was centuries ago, superceded by the Muhamadan law which, in its turn, has given place to the modern law of British based on English law.

Mâdhavâchârya had no little share in laying the foundations of the Vizianagar Empire at the commencement of the 14th Century of the Christian Era. At that time, the Muhammadans had not yet succeeded in extending their rule South of the Krishna River. We may, therefore, fairly presume that the procedure which I am going to describe was in use in Mâdhava's time-in Southern India, at any rate.

Chapter 5 of section 4 of Śukranîtisâra also deals with jurisprudence. This is an epitome of what is more elaborately treated by Mâdhava and does not add much to what we find there.

The author begins by stating that it is the duty of the King to administer justice according to law and impartially.[1] The function of the King is to protect the people committed to his care and one of the most important ways of doing this is by proper administration of justice. While the Smritis insist on the King performing his duties as a Judge or Magistrate, it is noticeable that they nowhere refer to him as a law giver. The idea of all law proceeding from the throne belongs to Roman jurisprudence and was unknown in Hindu India. The King should administer laws as he finds them. Where do they come from, then? They are based on immemorial customs prevalent among the people, reduced to writing by great Ṛshis from time to time. In fact, Dharma Śastras are codifications of the customary law of the land' condifications made, not by the King or by any one deriving authority from the King but, by some eminent lawyer of each period who was so very much superior to other lawyers of his time that his codification was accepted as binding on all until it was, in any respect, repealed by a similar subsequent codification. These codifications bear the names of their authors just as Acts of the British Parliament are sometimes named after the members who introduce them. Variations in the Smritis show that the customary law of the land changed from time to time in spite of codifications and Smritis expressly provide, as will be seen later, that customs, local as well as tribal, and family customs should be respected though they may vary from the codified general law,

1. Vyavahârân nṛpaḥ pasyêd vidvadbhih brâhmaṇais saha
Dharma śastrânusârêṇa krôdha lôbha vivarjitah

Yâjnavalkya.

provided they are not destructive of its fundamental principles. The King has no power to alter these laws in any way but is bound to administer them as he finds them.

Vyavahâra is the comprehensive name for the administration of justice. It is defined as follows by Kâtyâyana:—

Prayatna sâdhyê vicchinné Dharmâkhyê Nyâyavistarê ।
Sâdhyamûlastu yô vâdô vyavahâras sa uchyatê ।

That is when through decline of dharma, it becomes necessary for one to establish one's claim to any thing; the settlement of this claim is called *Vyavahâra*. Thus, decline of Dharma is the root of *Vyavahâra*. The word *Dharma* is used in different senses in different contexts but in its most classical sense, the sense in which it is used here, it means the duty prescribed by law. It is the chief among the three which man seeks in this world the others being *ardha*, (*purushardhas*) and *Kâma*. There is a perpetual feud between *Dharma* or duty and ardha or self-interest and this feud is responsible for all the disputes in the world. As long as *Dharma* or sense of duty holds complete sway over men's minds, the passions are kept in check and no trouble ensues but when men forget their duties and attempt to extend conflict necessarily ensues between man and man and *Vyavahâra* is the result.

It is a common subject of lament in India that there has been a gradual decline of *Dharma* in the world. Nârada says for instance, that when Manu reigned, all people were truth-speakers and all were intent on *Dharma*. There was then no hatred and no malice and therefore, *Vyavahâra*.[1] Brihaspati endorses this view and states that Vyavahâra becomes necessary on account of people being moved by avarice and hatred.[2] This is a prosaic way of expressing the familiar idea that Dharma walked on four legs in Kritayuga, hopped on three in Trêta and two in Dvâpara and is trying to stand on one in the present Kali Yuga. Whatever may be the value to be attached to this statement, there are many who think that dharma shows a tendency to decline in proportion to the advance of Modern Civilization. If increase of litigation is a sign of the decline of dharma as Nârada and Brishaspati tell us, that decline must be going on at a pretty repaid rate. Soon after I went to Russell Konda in the Ganjam District seven years ago, I was trying a criminal case in which a Khond appeared as a witness. The

1. Manuprajâpati ryasmin kâle râjyam abûbhujat
dharmaikathânâh purushâh tadasan satyavâdinah
Nârada.

2. Dharmapradhânâh purushâh pûrva mâsanna himsakâh
Lôbhadvêshâbhibhûtânâm vyavahârah pravartate
Brhaspati.

Vakil for the party against whom the Khond was deposing, tried to inpugn his credibility, when the witness addressing the Court said "I am a Khond. I do not speak lies." The Vakil retorted that the man was only an Oriya Khond i. e., a Khond who came and settled down in the low country among the Oriyas in fact a civilized Khond!

Classes of Courts :—Sabhas or Courts are of two kinds — the regular *(Mukhya)* and the special *(amukhya)*. The latter comprise special courts intended for the trial of cases between parties belonging to special professions, trade guilds and castes, which have to be decided according to special laws or customs applicable to those classes. Provision is made, for instance, for hill Courts for hill people, Courts Martial for Soldiers, mercantile Courts for merchants, special caste Courts for special castes, Village Courts for disposal of petty litigation among villagers and so on.[1] These Courts are generally manned by persons belonging to the same special class to which the parties belong, so that they can dispose of the matter in dispute with a knowledge of all the circumstances bearing on it.

The regular Courts are either stationary *(Pratishthita)* or Circuit (*apratishthita*) Courts and these are again divided into two classes—viz—*Sastrita* or Courts presided over by the King in person and *Mudrita* i. e. Court presided over by Judges appointed under the King's seal.[2] We may suppose that the supreme Courts were, as a rule presided over by the Kings in person and that they appointed Judges to preside over provincial Courts. Manu empowers a King to appoint a substitute (*pratinidhi*) when he cannot himself preside over a Court and the Officer so appointed could exercise all the powers of the King.[3]

1. Dasasthânâni vâdânâm panca caihâbravîn manuh
nirnayâ yêna gacbchanti vivâdam prâpya vâdinah.
Araṇyastu svakaih kuryuh sârtha ssarthakais tathâ
sainika ssainikairêva grâmêpyubhayavâsibhih.
Ubhayânumatam caiva gṛhyate sthânamîpsitam
Kulikâs sârtha mukhyâs ca purâ grâma nivâsinah.
Grâmapaura gaṇâ srêṇyas caturvidyâs ca vargiṇah
Kulâni kulikas caiva niyuktâ nṛpais tathâ.

2. Pratishṭhita pratishṭhî ca mudritâ śâstritâ tathâ
caturvidhâ sabhâ prôktâ sabhyas caiva caturvidhâh.
pratishṭhita purê grâmê sabha ranye pratishṭhitâ
Mudritâ dhyaksha sahita râja yuktâ ca śâstrita

Brhaspati.

3. Yadâ svayam na kuryât tu nṛpatih kârya darśanê
tadâ niyunjyad vidvâmsam brâhmaṇam kârya darśane
Sôsya kâryani sampaśyêt sabhyairêva tribhirvṛtâh
sabhâmêva praviśyâ gryam asina sthita êva ca

What follows applies, in the first instance, to the supreme Court wherein the King dispenses justice personally and to the inferior Courts *Mutatis Mutandis.*

Court house:—The Court house should be situated in the eastern part of the King's Fort facing the East. It should be built in accordance with the laws of architecture *(Vâstu Sastra)*, surrounded by shady trees and provided with good water supply. It should be furnished with seats for the Judges and others and its walls should be decorated with the pictures of Gods etc. The atmosphere about the Court House must be kept pure and fragrant by means of flowers and incense and samples of seeds and precious stones should be stocked, apparently for use in connection with ordeals.

Court Hours:—Kâtyâyana divides the day into eight parts and setting the first apart for the performance of such daily rites as every *dvija* is bound to perform, allot the next three parts to Vyavahâra.[1] This means that, supposing the day to begin at 6 A.M. and end at 6 P.M., the Court hours are from 7-30 A.M. to 12 noon. *Sukranîti Sâra* differs from this and lays down that the enquiry should be held in the afternoon while the forenoon should be devoted to the study of the law applicable to the case. No fixed time should be observed, however, in the trial of grave crimes such as murder and theft, for, they should be tried without delay.[2]

Holidays:—No Court is to be held on the *Chaturdasis, Amâvasya* and *pournami*, i. e., on four days in the month. These are the regular holidays. Of course, there must have been many occasional holidays.

Constitution of the Court:—The Court consists of ten members viz. The King, the prâdvivâka, the Sabhyas, the gaṇaka or accountant, the Lêkhaka or Clerk, Smriti or the law, gold, fire, water and Sâdhyapâlaka i. e. the Court Keeper or the Court Inspector.[3] The

1. Divaso sasyâshtamam bhâgam muktyâ kâlât tayam ca yat
sakalo vyavahârâṇam śâstra dhvaśṭah parah smrtah
Kâtyâyana.

2. Nyâyân paśyêtu madhyâhnê pûrvâhnê smrti darśanam
Manushya marane stêve sâhasê tyâyikê sadâ
na kâla niyamas tatra sadya êva vivêcanam
Sukranîtisâra.

3. Nrpôdhikrtah sabhyas ca smrtir gaṇika lêkhakau
Hemâgnyambu sva purushôsâdhanângâni vai dasa,
êtaddasânga karanam yasya madhyâsya pârthivah
Nyâyân paśyê krta matih sà sabha dhvamsa sammitâ.
Brhaspati.

first three form the Bench. The Clerk, the accountant and the Court Keeper are the Officers of the Court while the other four elements are things which should always be kept in Court for use — the law for constant reference and gold, fire and water for swearing witnesses or parties in the same way as the Bible is now used for swearing Christian witnesses.

The seats of Judges and Officers :—The King should sit in the centre of the bench (*Dharmâsana*) facing the east, the Sabhyas including the prâdvivâka on his right facing the north, the bench clerk on the left and the accountant opposite the bench facing the west.

The relative positions of the King etc :—The King is the judge and the decision is his and must be issued under his signature and seal. The prâdvivâka and the Sabhyas are to assist him in arriving at the truth and deciding the case justly. He must administer justice impartially being influenced neither by love nor by hatred.[1]

Prādvivāka:—Prâdvivâka is a most important limb of the Court. He is next to the King both in his position on the bench and in authority. He it is who examines the parties and witnesses and helps to ascertain the truth and is called prâdvivâka on that account.[2] This Officer has to remove difficulty from the matter in dispute—by means of reason and inference, even as a surgeon removes a splinter from the patient's body with his instruments.[3] Naturally very high qualifications are prescribed for this functionary. He must, of course, be learned in law. In addition, he must not be cruel but he must be sweet-tempered, sympathetic, discerning and not avaricious.[4] He should be a Brahmin but failing to get a learned Brahmin, the King may appoint a learned Kshatria and failing him, a learned Vaisya.

Vakils:—The Prâdvivâka is sometimes used now-a-days to mean a pleader but this is not its classical meaning. A pleader or

1. tasmâd dharmâsanam prâpya râjâ vigata matsarah
   śâsyât sarva bhûtêśa bibhradyêva svatâm vratam.
   Yathâ yamah priya dveshyau prâpta kâle niyaccati
   tatha râjâ niyantavyah prajâs taddhi Yama vratam

   Nârada.

2. Vivâda samsritam dharmam prchebati prâk srtam matam
   vivêcayati ca yas tasmât prâdvivâkas tu sa smrtah.

   Nârada.

3. Yathâ śalyam bhishakkâyâd uddharêd atra yuktitah
   prâdvivâkas tatha śalyam uddharêd vyavahâratah

   Nârada.

4. Akrûro madhuras snigdhah kramâyâtô vicakshaṇah
   utsâhavân alubdhas ca vâde yajyo nrpêna tu.

Vakil is called *pratinidhi* (agent) or *niyogi* i. e., one authorized to act on behalf of the party. But a *pratinidhi* or *niyogi* does not appear to be exactly the same as the modern Vakil. He had, for instance, nothing to do with the examination of witnesses which was done by the prâdvivâka but could and no doubt often did suggest questions to that functionary. He was in the position of an agent and appeared for the party employing him, when the party's personal attendance was dispensed with. Whatever was done by a Niyôgi was binding on the party employing him as if he had done it himself.[1] The Vakil should be well acquainted with the law and procedure. His fee should not exceed 6¼ % of the value of the subject matter of the suit and he is liable to be punished if he extorts more by avarice.[2]

This is all about duly authorized agents but a party may be represented by his near relations such as father, son or brother without a Vakalat. In cases of grave offences such as *murder, theft, adultery, seducing an unmarried girl, sedition etc*, the accused must appear and defend himself in person and cannot be allowed to appear by agent.[3]

Sabhyas:—Next to the prâdvivâka are the Sabhyas who should be seven, five or three in number. They are selected for their knowoledge of law and have to advise the King on the law applicable to the case in hand and perhaps also on the merits of the case generally. They have no power to decide. None has this power except the King but the King is bound to be guided by them in deciding the case at least in regard to law. They must have wordly experience and must be well versed in the Vedic lore and the Civil law.[4] Persons unacquainted

1. yah kascid kârayêt kiñcin niyogâd yêna kênacid
tat tênaiva kṛtam jnêyamanivâryam hi tat smṛtah

Sukranîtisâra.

2. Niyôgâtasyâpi bhṛtim vivâdat shôdaśâmsikîm
Vimśat yamśam tadartham vâ tadartham ca tardhikam
Yatha dravyâdikam kâyyam hînâhîna bhṛtis tatha
yadi bahu niyôgai syâd anyathâ tasya pôshanam.
dharmajnô vyavahârajnô niyôktavyô nyadâ navâ
Anyathâ bhṛti grhnamtam dandayêt ca niyôginâm.

Sukranîtisâra.

3. Manushya maranê stêyê paradârâbhimarśanê
Abhakshya bhakshanê caiva kanyâ harana dûshanê.
pârushyê kûṭakâraṇê nṛpa drôhê ca sâhasê
Pratinidhir na dâtavyah karttâ tu vivadêt svayam.

Sukranîtisâra.

4. Lôka vâdanga dharmajnâ ssapta panca trayôpivâ
Yatrôpavishta viprâssyu ssa yajnâ sadṛsî sabha.

Brhaspati.

with the customs of the country or ignorant of law, unbelievers, idiots, men in distress, and those that are irritable or avaricious are unfit to be Sabhyas.[1]

Great is the merit of a righteous and just Sabhya who, by the application of law, can restore the rights of an aggrieved party by clearing the doubts in which through ignorance those rights have been involved, like a clever Oculist who, by the application of an ointment removes the cataract and restores the eyesight of a blind man. Such a man enjoys fame in this life and goes to heaven after death.[2]

Bench Clerk:—Lêkhaka is the scribe or bench clerk. His chief duty is to write down the pleadings which are made orally. The Clerk must be one who can write legibly and grammatically, a truth loving man and one who is not passionate or avaricious.[3]

The Accountant:—The gaṇika or accountant is for making money-calculations involved in suits. He must be versed in the Vedas as well as in Astronomy.[4]

Sādhyapāla:—Sâdhyapâla or Sapurusha is an officer of the Court whose duty it is to procure the attendance of parties and witnesses, to preserve order in court and execute its decrees. He should be an able bodied sudra and should be ready to carry out all orders of the Court.[5]

Law, fire, water and gold:—The other essentials of a court are the law, the use of which is obvious and fire, water and gold which are made use of in swearing witnesses.

Brihaspati compares a Court to a human body of which the King is the head, prâdvivâka the mouth, Sabhyas the arms, law the

1. Dêśâcârânabhijnâyê nasṭikâ sśâstravarjitâh
unmatta kruddha lubdhârtha na prastavya vinirnayê.
Brhaspati.

2. Ajnâna timirôpêtân sandêha paṭalânvitan
Nirâmayanyah kurute śâstrajnâna śalâkaya
Iha kîrtim avâpnôti labhatê svargatam ca sah.
Brhaspati.

3. Sphuṭalêkham niyunjîta sabda lâkshanikam sucim
Sphutâksharam jita krôdham alubdham satyavâdinam.

4. Tri skandha jyautishâbhijnam sphuta pratyaya kârakam
srutâdhyayana sampannam gaṇakam yojayên nṛpah.

5. Sâdhya pâlâs tu kartavyo râjna sâdhyasya sâdhakah
Kramâyâto dyatas sûdrah sabhyânâm ca mate sthitah.
Akaraṇe rakshaṇe ca sâkshi pratyardhi vâdinam
sabhyâdhînas satyavâdi kartavyas tu svapûrushah.

hands, clerk and accountant the legs, fire, water and gold the eyes and Sâdhyapâlaka the feet.[1]

Taking cognisance of cases:—Having determined the constitution of the court, we are now in a position to follow the trial of cases.

It is laid down, as a general rule, that the King should only try cases on complaint made to him by aggrieved parties and not *Suo motu*. This is to prevent the King from meddling in the private affairs of his subjects actuated, it may be, by love, hate or avarice. Criminal offences are excepted from this rule, and the King is given power to take cognizance of them of his own accord. When the king is unable to take the initiative he may take cognizance of them on the complaint of a Stôbhaka i. e., aggrieved party or on information laid by a Sûchaka who is a person appointed by the King to detect crime.[2] It will be seen that this law is in accord with the modern law of this country and that the threefold method of taking cognizances of offences corresponds to the threefold method prescribed in Section 190 of Criminal Procedure Code where n a Magistrate is empowered to take cognisance of cases on complaint, or on Police report or on his own knowledge. Except in the matter of taking cognizance, in regard to punishment and in a few other respects which will be referred to in their proper places, no dintinction is made between Civil and Criminal cases in regard to the procedure. All causes seem to have been treated alike as torts which, in fact they are.

1. Têsham mûrdha nṛpônganam mukhân câ dhikṛtah kṛtah
Bahu sabhyah smṛtir hastau janghê gaṇaka lekhakau
Hêmagnyambu dṛsau tatra padausya purushas tathâ.

2. Na râgêna na lôbhêna na krôdhêna grasên nṛpah
pairaiprâpitânarthân na câ pi sva manîshayâ.
chalâni câparadhams ca pâdani nṛpatis tatha
svâmêtani gṛhnîyâs tva vêdakairvinâ.

Pitâmaha.

Yathâ chalâdîni râjâ svayam dṛastu masaktah tadâ stôbhakât
sûcakâdbôdhavyâni.

Mâdhava.

Sâstrêṇa ninditam tvardha mukhyâs câ rtha pracôditah
Avêdayati yah pûrvam stôbhakas sa udâhṛtah.
Nṛpênaiva niyuktôyahparadôsha mavêkshitam
Nṛpasya sûcayêd jnatyâ sûcakas sa udâhṛtah

Kâtyâyana.

Four parts of trial:—The trial is divided into 4 parts Viz—*pratijna* plaint or complaint, *uttaram* answer or written statement, *Kriya* proof and *Nirnaya* decision.

Plaint or complaint:—When the complainant or plaintiff appears in Court, he should be asked to state the case and what he states should be taken down by the clerk on a slate and after it is scrutinized and made conformable to law, it should be copied on a cadjan or other leaf [1]. The same thing is to be done in regard to the answer.

Plaint, its contents and language:—The plaintiff should be examined in the presence of the defendant. The language of the plaint should be concise (*Alpâksharam*) and free from ambiguity (*Asandigdham.*) The plaint should *prima facie* be faultless and admissible (*Niravadhyam*) and should set out the material facts of the claim (*Supratijnam*), the evidence by which it is to be proved (*Sapramânam*) and the title on which it rests. It should state, among other things, the cause of action (*Pîda*) where and when it arose, the names and castes of the parties and the subject matter of the suit (*Dravyam*). It should be free from faults and must be based on a valid cause of action. Plaints which do not give the necessary particulars such as the time and place of the cause of action or the relief sought and do not indicate the evidence on which the claim is based, should be rejected summarily; so also suits in which the relief sought is unknown to law (*Aprasiadham*), suits where the plaintiff has sustained no injury (*Nirâbâdham*) purposeless suits *Nishprayôjanam* and claims for relief which is impossible to grant (*Asâdhyam.*) In regard to the time of the cause of action, the year, the month, the fortnight and the date must be given. The names of the parties and of their fathers, their ages and residence as well as the exact place where the cause of action arose should be stated in the plaint. In suits for immovable property, the plaint must state how and when the property was acquired by the plaintiff or his ancestors [2]. A plaint in which

1. Pûrvapakshah svabhâvôktam prâdvivâkô bhilêkhayêt
pându lêkhêna phalaké tatah patrê visôdhitam.

Kâtyâyana.

2. Upasthitê tavas tasmin vâdî paksham prakalpayêt
Niravadyam supratijnam pramâdâgama samyutam.
Dêsa stâna samâ mâsa paksha baranam ajâtitah
Dravyam sankhyôdayam pîdam kshêmam lingam ca lêkhayêt.
Pratijnâ dôsha nirmuktam sâdham sat kâranânvitam
Niscitam lôkasiddham ca paksham pakshavidô viduh.
Alpâkshara stv asandigdho bahvardhâs câ pyanâkulah
yuktô virôdhi karanair virôdha pratishêdhakah.

Brhaspati.

several causes of action which ought to be separately tried, are joined *prakîrnardhah* or in which the claim is time barred (*Atîtakâlah*) and a plaint in which two inconsistent claims are set up (*Durishtah*) should be rejected[1]. When A complains that B his neighbour is moving about in his house with the help of the light in A's house, it is an instance of a claim where there is no injury, for, A has suffered no loss by B's action. An instance of a purposeless suit is where a man is sued for singing melodiously near plaintiff's house. The complaint that the defendant laughed at the plaintiff with his eyebrows knit, is given as an illustration of a suit for an impossible remedy. It is a general rule that no suits should be entertained which are opposed to the rights of the state and to the general rights of the country or the people i. e. which are opposed to public policy[2]. A plaint may be amended at any time before the defendant is called upon to answer and not afterwards[3]. The following persons are disqualified from bringing suits—Viz. A man that is insane or drunk, a man that has been found guilty of any of the great sins (*Mahâpâtakas*) an idiot, and a very old or very young person[4].

Dêsa kâla vihïnâs ca Dravya sankhyâdi varjitah
sâdhya prâmana hînas ca pakshô nadêya isyatë.

Kâtyâyanâ.

Atra siddham nirâbâdham nirardham nishprayôjanam
asâdhyam vâ viruddham va pakshâbhâsam vivarjayêt.
Nirdisya kâla varsham ca mâsam paksham tithim tadhâ
vêlâm pradêśam vishayam sthânam jâtyâkṛtî vayah.
Sâdhya dravya pramânam ca sankhya nâma tadha tmanah
Râjnam cakra masô nama nivâsam sâdhya nâmaca.
Kramât pitṛṇâm nâmani pîḍam âhartṛu dâyakau
Kshamâlingani câ nyânipaksham samkîrtya kalpayêt

Kâtyâyanâ.

1. Bhinnakramo vyutkramârdhah prakîrnârdho nirardhakah
Atîta kâlô dvishas ca pakshô nâdêya ishyatê.

2. Râjnôpa varjitô yastu yas ca paura virôdha kṛt
Râshtrasya vâ samastasya prâkrtinâm tadhaiva ca.
Anyêsham vâ pura grâmamahâjana virôdhakah
Anâdeyas tu tê sarvê vyavahârah prakîrtitah.

Brhaspati.

3. Sôdhayêt pûrva vâdam tu yâvan nôttara darśanah
Avashṭabdha syôttarêṇa nivṛttam sôdhanam bhavêt.

Nârada.

4. Unmatta matta dhûrtas ca mahâ pâtaka dûshitah
Jaḍadhî vṛddha bâlas ca vijnêyassyur niruttarah.

Brhaspati.

Answer or defence:—When the plaint is made conformable to law and the suit is entertained, the defendant should be called upon to state his defence. If he does not do so voluntarily, he should be forced to speak. Failing milder means, he is liable to be fined, whipped or imprisoned for failure to make a statement[1]. If, for a sufficient reason, the defendant applies for time to make a statement it should be granted according to the following scale viz:—If the cause of action arose on the same day on which the suit is filed, no time should be given If it is old but recent, one day should be given. Three days may be given where the cause of action is 6 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 10 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, 7 days if it is 12 years old, 13 or 15 days if it is 20 years old, one month if it is 30 years old and six weeks in older cases. In the case of idiots, madmen, minors, persons suffering from chronic diseases and those engaged in the performance of sacrifices or other rituals occupying a long time (*Dîkshitah*) one year's time may be given, if necessary. Generally, no adjournments should be given for filing a statement in Criminal cases, for these cases should be tried and disposed of without loss of time. Like the plaint, the answer should be written down by the clerk and made conformable to law. The answer must traverse the entire ground covered by the plaint (*Vyâpakam*), must state the whole of the defendant's case (*Sâram*) and must be unambiguous and plain[2].

Four kinds of pleas:—The defence set up may be one of admission (*Sampratipatti*) denial (*Midhya*) confession and avoidance (*pratyavaskandhanam*) or *res judicata* (*prangnyaya*) or *purvanyaya*.

Denial:—Denial may be simple or may take the form of saying that the defendant knows nothing about the cause of action or that he was not present at the time and place mentioned in the plaint, or that he was not born then.

1. Pûrva pakshê yadarthêna na dadyâd uttarân tu yah
pratyarthi dapanîyasyât samâdhibhir upakramaih.
Priya pûrva vacassâma bhêdastûbhayadarśinah
ardha prakarshaṇam dandas tâḍanam bandhanam tatha.

Yâjnavâlkya.

2. Pakshasya vyâpakam sâram asandigdham anâkulam
avyâkhya gamya mityêtad uttaram tad vidô viduh.

Prajâpati.

Midhyâkâranayor vâpi grahyam kâraṇam uttaram.

Hârîta.

na cai kasmin vivâdêtu kriyâsyadayadi nô rdvayôh
Na ca rdha sidhi rubhayô na caikartru kriyâd yayam.

Kâtyâyanâ.

Confession and avoidance:—Confession and avoidance is where a defendant admits the original transactions and shows cause why decree should not be passed against him as, when a defendant admits having borrowed money from the plaintiff and pleads discharge. If the defendant, without going into the merits of the plaintiff's claim, pleads *Res judicata* that, in respect of the same cause of action, there has been a prior suit between him and the plaintiff and that the plaintiff lost it, the plea is called one *prangnyaya vidhi* or *res judicata.* [1]

Burden of proof:—As soon as the answer is settled, the Court must declare on whom the burden of proof lies and call upon such party to adduce his evidence. Where the plea is one of denial, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff and in other cases it is on the defendant. The plea of *res judicata* or of confession and avoidance genarally involves the plea of denial also. For instance, if A sues B for the recovery of a cow and states "This cow is mine, It was m.ssed on such and such a day. I have now discovered it in B's house" and B answers. "This claim is false. The cow was in my house long before the day mentioned by the plaintiff. In fact, it was born in my house", this is a mixed plea of denial and avoidance and the burden of proof is on the defendant, for, it is only in cases of pure denial that it is on the plaintiff. Burden of proof should entirely be on one side or the other but not partly on one side and partly on the other, in one and the same trial. It is not, therefore, permissible to combine in the same answer different kinds of pleas involving a difference in the incidence of burden of proof. For instance, if the complaint is that the defendant borrowed from the plaintiff a quantity of gold and also one hundred rupees and the defendant denies having borrowed gold and admits the borrowing of the rupees but pleads discharge, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff in

1. Yâvadâsêvitam kincin mat sambandha mihâ rdhinâ
tâvat sarvam asambhûtam iti midhyôttaram sṛtam.
Asyêva dêyam êvaitân nasambhavitam ardhinah
iti samprati patyâkhyam dvitîyam idam uttaram.
Dattamêva mayâ nêna kim tvasy âpi mayâ punah
prati dattam iti prôktam pratyavaskandanam smṛtam.
Asmin sangatê pûrvam prârabdhosmyaham ambuna
Jitas ca yam mayâ tatra prângnyâya vidhir ucyatê.

Prajâpati.

Ardhinâ likhitôh yârdhah pratyardhi yad itam tathâ
prapâdya kâranam brûyat pratyavaskandanam hi tat.
Asminnardhê mayâ nêna vâdah pûrvam abhût tathâ
Jitôyam iti cêd brûyât Prângnyayas sa udahṛtam.

Sukranîtisâra.

regard to gold and on the defendant in regard to rupees. These two issues should not be tried together. Suppose again that, in the above mentioned case, the defendant pleads discharge in regard to gold and *res judicata* in regard to the rupees. Here, though the burden of proof is on the defendant in regard to both pleas, there is a difference, in kind, between the evidence to be adduced on one issue and that to be adduced on the other for, the plea of *res judicata* is to be proved by the production of the judgment in the former case or by the evidence of those that tried that case, whereas the plea of discharge is to be proved by documentary or oral evidence of a different kind. Take a more complicated case, a case in which the plaintiff claims the return of gold' rupees and clothes and the defendant pleads discharge, denial and *res judicata* respectively. In all cases of this kind, the issues should be tried and disposed of separately. This rule is no doubt intended to secure simplicity of procedure. The issues should be taken up and tried in the order of their importance in the suit or that issue should be tried the disposal of which will dispose of the other isssues.[1]

Defendant exparte:—The defendant is liable to be declared to have lost his case (1) if he changes his defence after it is committed to writing and accepted by the Court, (2) if he fails to produce his witnesses. (3) if he is absent when called or absconds or (4) if he fails to state his defence when called upon to do so.[2]

Restoration of a case :—A suit which is dismissed summarily under the above mentioned rule may be restored to file on payment of fine (according to the scale prescribed). If after the pleadings are settled, the parties withdraw from the case under circumstances which amount to comtempt of Court, they are liable to be fined. But if the parties really repent and earnestly desire to enter into a compromise, the King should permit them to do so.[3]

1. Yat prabhûtâ rdha vishayam yatra vasyât kriyâ phalam
   uttaram tatra tadjnêyam asankîrṇa mato nyathâ.

   Hârîta.

2. Anyavâdî paṇan pañca kriyâ dvêshi panân daśa
   nô pâsthata daśa dyau ca shôdaśaiva niruttarah
   Ahûta vyapalâyica paṇân grahyâs tu vimsatim.

   Kâtyâyana.

3. Pûrvôttarê sannivishṭê vicârê sampravartitê
   prasramam yê mitho yântidapyâstê dviguṇam damam.
   Pûrvôttarêpi likhitê prakrântê kârya nirṇayê
   dvayô ssantaptayô sandhi syât ayah khanda yô riva
   Tatra râjâjnayâ sandhir ubhayorapi śâsyatê.

   Brhaspati.

Plurality of suits and counter-suits:—No suit should be filed against a man during the pendency of another suit against him either by the same plaintiff or by another; nor can a defendant put forth a counter-claim against the plaintiff until the suit against him is disposed of. This rule applies only to Civil suits.

Proof or evidence:—The evidence is either human or divine. By divine evidence is meant the evidence afforded by ordeals and is so called because the gods are said to make use of it when they are in doubt. [1] Human evidence should be preferred to divine evidence and the latter should be resorted to only in the absence of the former or where it does not avail. For instance, it may be used in the case of offences committed in secret or where by lapse of time, human evidence has been destroyed or where it is equally balanced on both sides and no conclusion can be drawn from it.

Human evidence-oral and documentary:—Human evidence is either oral (*Sâkshi*) or documentary (*Likhitum*). A third kind of evidence is also mentioned under the name of Bhukti or enjoyment but this is not evidence in the strict sense of the term and will be treated of separately.

Witnesses:—A witness *(Sâkshi)* is one who speaks to thât which he has seen with his own eyes or heard with his own ears.

Qualification of witnesses:—Witnesses should be chosen from among persons who love justice and truth, are well to do and have children, are of good family, conduct themselves in accordance with the law, are free from hatred and malice, who are independent and are comparatively young.

Disqualific tion of witnesses:—Cowards, persons who are interested in the subject matter of the suit, or in the parties or are hostile to the parties, persons who have been convicted for offences, who are afflicted in mind or body, are unfit to be witnesses. So also slaves, old people, children, women, insane and drunken persons, sanyasis, travellers by land or sea, out-castes, eunochs, sellers of poisons, snake charmers, oil mongers, astrologers, men who live by prostituting their wives, dealers in liquors, public detectives and near relations and many more whom it is unnecessary to name here. Disqualified witnesses

1. Yasmâd dêvaih prayuktâni dushkriyârdhê mahâtmabhih
paraspara visudhyârdham tasmâd divyâni nâmatah

Sukranîtisâra.

2. Dharmajnah putrinô maulah kulînas satyavâdinah
śrauta smârta kriyâ yuktah vigata dvêsha matsarah.
śrôtriya âparâdhinah sûrayas ca pravâsinah
yuvânah sâkshinah kâryah rnadishu vijânatâ.

Vyâsa.

may be examined in the absence of qualified ones and there is no disqualification for witness in criminal cases.[1] Ordinarily witnesses should be of the same class, tribe or caste as the parties and in disputes between persons following the same profession, witnesses also should be of that profession, women should be witnesses in cases between women.[2] These rules are put rather broadly and it seems not unreasonable to presume that they were considerably modified in actual practice.

Number of witnesses necessary:—The number of witnesses necessary to prove a point is three or more but two will do if they are pious and respectable persons. One witness is not sufficient except in the case of the following special witnesses viz:—a messenger *(Dûta)* accountant (*ganaka*) Umpire (*Kâryamadhyagata*) the King, and the *prâdvivâka*. Vyâsa is more liberal and lays down that where more witnesses are not available, a single witness is sufficient especially in Criminal cases, provided that witness is pure-minded, loves justice and is of steady habits.[41]

1. Dâsa naikṛtakas śuddha vṛddha strî bâla chatrikâh
matt ônmatta pramatt ârta kitava grâma yâjakâh.
mahâpadhika samudra vanik pravrâjit âturah
Yugmaikas śrôtriyâcâra hîna klîba kuśîlavâh.

Nârada.

2. Asâksinô ye nirdishtah dâsa naikrt ikâdayah
kârya gauravam âsâdya bhavêyus tê pi sâkshiṇah

Nârada.

Stêya ca sâhasê caiva pârushyê sangama striyâh
râgâdînâm prayôgê ca na dôshas sakshisu smṛtah.

Nârada.

Brâhmaṇa kshatriyâ vaisyâ sûdrâ yê câ pyaninditah
prativarṇam bhavêyus tê sarvê sarvêshu vâ punah.
Srêṇishu śrêṇi purushah syêshu vargêshu varginah
bahiryâsishu bâhyassyuh striyâ strî ca sâkshinah.
Nava sapta pañca vâ syus catvâras traya êva vâ
ubhau vâ śrôtriyau khyâtâ naikam prchchêd kadâcana.
Dûtakâh khandikâ grâhi kâryamadhyâ gatas tathâ
êka êvâ pramanasyân nṛpôdhyakshas tathaiva ca.

Brhaspati.

Sûci sthirâtma dharmajnas sâkshî yatrâ nubhûtavân
pramâṇamaikôpi bhavêtsâhasêshu visêshatah.

Challenging witnesses:—Witnesses may be challenged as jurors are challenged now and this must be done before the examination of witnesses is commenced. When a witness is challenged, he should be asked if he admits the imputation made against him. If he denies, the challenging party must prove the imputation on pain of being fined. If all the witnesses of a party are discredited, he must prove his case by some other means already indicated in the plaint or answer. Challenging is not allowed after the examination of witnesses is commenced. [1]

Swearing witnesses:—The witness to be examined should be made to stand facing the north or the east and sworn, the Brahmin on truth, the Kshatriya on his horse and weapons, the Vaisya on a cow or grain or gold and the Sûdra on the sin of telling lies. To swear a Brahmin on truth is to commend to him the virtue of truth-speaking. It will not perhaps be inappropriate to refer to some of the sentiments of the Smriti writers on this subject, now that we hear so much about the truthfulness or otherwise of the Hindus as a nation. Manu says that a witness who speaks truth is highly respected in this world and after death, attains higher life.

Merits of truth speaking:—As Brahmin is the highest of men, as the sun is the brightest of the luminary bodies and as the head is the most important part of the body, so is truth the greatest of virtues. Truth is a witness and truth supports justice. Therefore, every witness must speak the truth, whatever be his caste. Nârada says:—Truth is the greatest gift, the greatest form of tapas and the greatest of duties. On the whole, the Gods are truth and the men are untruth. Therefore, he who speaks the truth becomes a god on earth. There is no virtue greater than truth and no sin greater than untruth. Vyâsa adds the following testimony to the excellence of truth speaking when a witness is sworn to give evidence he is surrounded by the gods and by the spirits of ancestors (pitras) who are in anxiety as to whether he is going to speak truth or untruth. If he speaks the truth, they go to the higher world but if he tells lies, they go to the nether world. A witness should, therefore, speak truth otherwise he will sin against gods and ancestors. Nârada adds:—A liar says to himself "none sees me" but his lying is perceived by the gods and by his own inner self. Self is the witness of self as well as the refuge of self. Do not, therefore

1. Sâkshinôrdhi samuddishṭân satsu dôshêshu dûshayêt
adushṭam dûshayêd vâdî tatsamam daṇḍa marhati.

Brhaspati.

Sâkshinô dûshaṇam kâryam Pûrva sâkshi parisanat
suddheshu sâkshishu tatah pascât kâryam visôdhayêt.

Brhaspati.

degrade thy self by speaking untruth. The earth, the sky, the water, the sun, the moon, the fire, the air, Yama, the day, the night, the twilight and the law, all know the mind of man and cannot be duped. The Smritis also visit untruth with severe penalties in births to come.[1]

A Sûdra witness should be extorted to speak the truth by means of an enumeration of the evil consequences of telling lies. He should be told, for instance, that a liar goes to the same place as a murderer of Brahmins, children or women, an ungrateful man or a

1. Satyam sâkshyê bruvan sâkshî Lokânâpnôti pushkalân
îha ca nuttamam kîrtim vagêsa brahma pûjita
Brâhmaṇo vâ manushyâṇâm âdityâs têjasâmiva
śirô vâ sarva gâtrâṇâm dharmâṇâm satyam uttamam.
Satyêna pûjyatê sâkshi dharmas satyêṇa vardhatê
tasmât satyam hi vaktavyam sarva varṇêsu sakshibhih.

Manu.

Satyam êva param dânam satyam êva param tapah
satyam êva param dharmo lôkanâm iti srtih.
Satyam dêvas samâsêna manusyâs tvanṛtam viduh
ihaiva tasya dêvatvam yasya satyê sthitâ matih.
nâsti satyât parô dharmô nânṛtât pâtakam param
sâkshidharma visêsêṇa satyam êva vadêt tatah.

Nârada.

Sâkshibhâvê niyuktânâm devatâ niyatâ sthitah
pitaras ca avalambantê vitadhakhyâna śankayâ
satya vakyair vrajantûrdhvam adhô yânt yanyadhâ tu tê
tasmât satyam pravaktavyam bhavadbhis sabhya sannidhau

Vyâsa.

Atmaiva hyâtmanâ sâkshi gatir âtmâ tadhâtmanah
mâvamam sthastvam âtmânam nṛnâm sâkshityam uttamam
manyantê vai pâpa kṛtto na kascit pasyatîti nah
tams tu êvah prapasyanti svasyaiv ântarapûrushah

Nârado.

Brahmaghnê yê smṛtâ lôkâh yê ca strî bâla ghâtinah
Mitradrôhah kṛtaghnasya tê tê syur vâdatô mṛsha.
Janma prabhṛti yat kincit punyam bhadra tvayâ kṛtam
tat te sarvam sunô gachchêt yadi brûyas tvam anyadhâ

Manu.

man who is false to his friend, that by speaking untruth, a man is deprived of what little virtue (*Dharma*) he may have acquired since his birth and so on.

The form of oath seems to have been prescribed with reference to what was then understood to be the mental development of the different classes of witnesses, so that they might all understand and realize their responsiblity in the matter.

A witness who fails to attend the Court without sufficient reason as well as a witness who attends but refuses to give evidence are liable to be fined [1] or even to be imprisoned.

Perjury to be punished :—Perjury (*Kûtasâkshyam*) is visited with punishment varying with the motive which prompted it. As justice must be preserved and injustice put down at all costs, untruthful witnesses may even be punished—the Brahmin witnesses from their houses and the non-brahmin witnesses from the country. [2]

Demeanour of witnesses :—The Judges are enjoined to note the demeanour of witnesses while under examination. A false witness's mind is not at ease. He talks loud and too much and sometimes answers without being questioned. He breathes hard, his forehead perspires and his countenance changes colour. His looks wander and he makes an unnecessary show of gestures etc. [3] Such a person should be known to be a false witness.

1. Sâkshi sâkshyam na cêd brûyât samandam vahêd ṛṇam
   atô nyêshu vâdêshu triśatam dandam arhati
   Ahûto yas tu nagachchêd sâkshi rôgavivarjitah
   Ṛṇam daman ca dapyasyât triparakat paratas tu sah.

2. Dharmasya vyabhicârârdham adharma nidhanâyacâ
   Kûṭa sâkshyam tu kurvâṇam strîn varnân dhârmiko nṛpah
   pravâsayêd dandayitva brâhmaṇan tu virâsayêt.

   Yâjnavalkya.

3. Yas tvâtma dôsha dushṭatvâd asvastha iva lakshyate
   sthânt sabhântaram gachchêd êkaikam câ nuḍhâvati
   Krôsatyardhâmśa ca bahulam âbhîkshnam nissvâsatyapi
   vilikhatyavanîm padbhyâm bahu vasês ca dhunayêt.
   bhidyatê mukha varnas ca lalâṭam svidyatê tathâ
   Sôsha mâgachchatas côshṭau ṛyûrdhvam tiryak navîkshatê.
   tvara mâna ihâtyardham apṛṣṭau bahu bhâshatê
   kûṭasâkshî sa vijnêyas tam pâpam vinayêd bhṛsam.

   Nârada.

Documentary evidence:— Documents are either private (*Laukika*) or public (*Râjakîya*) *Private documents* are divided into seven classes, Viz:—

1. *Bhâgalêkhyam* Partition deed.
2. *Dânalêkhyam* or deed of gift of land
3. *Krayalêkhyam* or sale deed.
4. *Adhilêkhyam* (mortgage deed)
5. *Samvitpatram* i. e. an agreement or compact entered into by all the inhabitants of a village or a part of country.
6. *Dâsapatram* (contract to serve)

and 7. *Runalêkhyam* or bond. [1]

1. Laukikam râjakîyam ca lêkhyam vidyâd vilakshanam
Bhrâtaras samvibhaktâ yê svaruchyatu parasparam
vibhâga lêkhyam kurvanti bhâga lêkhyam tad ucyatê.
Bhûmim datvâ tu yat patram kuryâchchandrârka kâlikam
anabhêdya manâhâryam dânalêkhyam ca tad viduh.
Grha kshêtrâdikam krîtvâ tulya mûlyâksharânvitam,
patram kârayatê yat tu krayalêkhyam tad ucyatê.
Jangama sthâvaram bandham datvâ lêkhyam karôti yat
gôpya bhôgya kriyâ yuktam nadhi lekhyam tad ucyatê.
Grâmô dêśas ca yat kuryân matam lêkhyam parasparam
râjâ virôdhi dharmartham samvit patram vadanti tat.
Vastrânna hînah kântârêlikhitam kurutê tu yat
karmâni tê karômî ti dâsa patram tad ucyatê.
Dhanam grhîtvâ vrdhyân tu svayam kuryacca kârayêt
yadjnâna patram tatrôktam rna lêkhyam manîshibhih.

Brhaspati.

Kâlam nivêsya râjânam sthânam nivasanam tathâ
dâyakam grhakam caiva pitr nâmnâ ca samyutam.
Jâtis ca gôtra sâkhâs ca dravyam adhim sa sankhyakam
vrddhi grâhaka hastam ca viditârthau ca sâkshinau.

Vasishtha.

Vina pi sâkshibhir lêkhyam sva hasta likhitam tu yat
tat pramânam srtam sarvam balâdadhikrtadhyaté.

Yâjnavalkya.

Sthâvarê vikrayâdhânê Vibhâgâdya tathaiva ca
likhitêna prayât siddhim avisamvada êva ca.

Marîci.

Private documents should contain the names, fathers' names, the gôtras and śâkhas of the parties, the exact date including the current regnal year, a description of the subject matter of the transaction and the rate of interest, in the case of bonds etc; The documents should be signed by the executant and attested at least by two witnesses and also by the writer. All the signatures should contain the names of the father of the signatories. Where a document is written by the executant himself, witnesses are not necessary. Documentary evidence is necessary in the case of transactions relating to immovable properties such as sales, mortgages and partitions. *Public documents* are of three kinds viz:—Sāsanāms or grants of lands etc. to scholars, temples etc. 2. *Prasâdapatram* grant of jaghirs for military service and 3. *Jayapatrams* or judgments. Sâsanams are generally engraved on copper plates according to the formula given. Judgments will be described in their proper place later on. A fourth class of public documents, is also mentioned—namely orders issued by the King, orders issued to Governors or tributary princes called *Ajnâpatra* (commandments) and those addressed to Gurus, priests and Ritwiks *Prajnâpanapatra* (reminders).

Forged documents:—Forged documents should be detached and rejected. Documents containing obvious interpolations, as well as those whose wording is self-inconsistent, ambiguous, or irregular and those which are inconsistent within local customs should be suspected to be forged. Again documents which purport to be old but are in a fresh condition and *vice versa* and mutilated documents should not be acted upon.[1]

Invalid documents:—Documents executed by persons who are intent on committing suicide, by children, persons in fear or distress by women, drunken persons and persons strongly addicted to other grave vices and documents extorted by force or show of force, are invalid. The signatures of the executant, attesting witnesses and the writer are the chief means of judging the genuineness of a document.

Comparison of hand-writing :—When these persons are dead, their handwriting may be proved by comparison with that of other documents which are admittedly in their hand writing.

Documents more than 20 years old :—Documents more than 20 years old may be admitted even if the signatories to it are all dead,

1. Sthâna bhrashṭas sapanktishthâ sandigdhâ lakshanacyutah
yadâ samsthâpitâ varṇah kûṭalêkhyam tadhâ bhavêt.
desâcâra virudham yat sandigdham kramavarjitam
kṛtam asvâminâ yacca sâdhya hînam ca dûshyati.
Yacca kâkapadâ kîrṇam tallêkhyam kûṭatamiyât.
Kâtyâyana.

provided that they have been seen or heard of whenever there was an occasion for it, during this period. Old documents which have not been previously produced in Court when there was an occasion for their production and are produced for the first time after lapse of more than 20 years from the date of their alleged execution, should be rejected [1].

When a bond etc. is discharged, the debtor should endorse payment on the back of the document and the creditor should give him a signed receipt. *(Upagatam)* [2]

Enjoyment of land and limitation:—The subject of enjoyment of the immovable property and the period of limitation in suits concerning it is a branch of the snbstantive law and not of procedure. But as the Smriti writers have treated of it under the head of proof or evidence I will refer to it here briefly.

Title and enjoyment necessary ordinarily:—To sustain a claim for immovable property both title (*agama*) and enjoyment (*Bhukti*) must be proved, ordinarily. Title is like the trunk of a tree and enjoyment, the branches. As the branches cannot grow without the trunk, so enjoyment must be based on title

Atyujjvalam cirâkṛtam malinam svalpakâlikam
Bhagnônmusṭâkshara yutam lêkhyam kûtatvam âpṇuyât.

Brhaspati.

Vividhâs sasa lêkhâsya bhṛântis sanjâyatê yadâ
ṛṇi sâkshi lêkhakânam hastâtsamsôdhayêt tathâ.

Brhaspati.

Adha pañcatvamâpnôti lêkhakas saha sâkshbhih
tat sahastabhis têshâm visudhyêta na samsayah.
Rṇa svahastam sandêho jîvatôvâ mrtasya ca
tat svahastam kṛtai rajnyaih patrair lêkhya vinirnayah

Kâtyâyana.

1. Yatra ṛṇi dhanikô vâpi sâkshîva lêkhakôpi vâ
mriyatê tatra tallêkhyam tat svahastaih prasâdayêt.

Vishnu.

Darśitam pratikâlam ya chchrâvitam smaritam tathâ
lêkhyam siddhyati sarvatra mritêshyapihi sâkshishu.

Nârada.

2. Lêkhasya pṛshṭê vilikhêt yadvâ tad ṛṇko dhanam
dhanikôpagatam dadyât svahasta paricihnitam

Yâjnavalkya.

Na mûlena Vinâ sâkhâ antarikshê prarôhati |
âgamastu bhavên mûlam bhuktis sâkhâ prakîrtita ||

Harita.

Five things must be proved to sustain valid enjoyment. viz:—That it is based on legal title and that it is long (*Dîrghakâla*), undisputed (*Nirâkrôsa*) uninterrupted (*Niramtara*) and known to the opposite party (*Pratyardhi sannidhâna*) This is the general rule, Where there is a legal title, enjoyment even for a short period is enough but title alone without enjoyment does not avail. On the other hand, uninterrupted enjoyment confers title provided it is at least three generations long. A generation is taken to be equivalent to 20 years but some writers make it 30 and some 35 years long [1]. The principle is that enjoyment from time immemorial (*Asmârtakale*) is a valid title by itself:—otherwise it has to be supported by proof of legal title.

The period of limitation in the case of easements and mesne profits from lands in dispute is 20 years [2] and it is 50 years against Brahmachâris engaged in study—who are required to devote 12 years to the study of each of the four Vedas and the connected Sastras. There is no limitation in the case of possession obtained by fraud or crime and none against the king, children (minors), woman and pious men engaged in the performance of Vedic rites *Srôtriya*. So also there is no limitation in the case of treasure trove and boundary disputes and none in regard to property enjoyed under a mortgage. Five years is

1. Sâgamô dîrgha kâlas ca nirâkrôsô nirantarah
pratyardhi sannidhânas ca bhuktô bhôgah pramâṇavat.

Sukranîtisâra.

Bhuktis tri purushî yatra purushé stribhir êva tam
tatra naiva gamah kâryô bhuktis tatra garîyasi.

Kâtyâyana.

smârtê kâle kriyâ bhûmê sâgamâ bhuktir îsyatê
asmârtânugamâbhavât kramât tripurushâgatâ

Kâtyâyana.

2. Adhyâsanât samârabhya bhuktir yasya vighâtini
samâvimsatyavadhikâ tasya tam na vicârayêt.

Prajâpati.

Tad êtad asêdham akurvatâm phala hâni vishayam natu bhû hâni vishayam.

Mâdhava.

the period of limitation in the case of movable property such as cows, horses and jewels.[1] There is no limitation in regard to enjoyment with the owner's consent.[2] Proof of enjoyment of a portion only of a holding is proof of the enjoyment of the entire holding. Enjoyment of land should be proved by the evidence of the cultivator, the village headman, the farmer of revenue or the Zamindar, the evidence of the earlier being always stronger than that of the later.

Decision:—Omitting the description of ordeals, we shall now proceed to the concluding part of *Vyavahâra* viz:—*Nirnaya* or the decision. Disposal may be by *Dharma*, *Vyavahâra*, *Charitram*, *Râjâjna*. Disposal by dharma is where the defendant admits the claim or the accused confesses the crime, but false confessions should be guarded against. Vyavahâra is regular trial according to law. Charitram is the technical term for custom–local, tribal or family. Where such a custom exists and is not opposed to the fundamental principles of law and public policy, it overrides the law. For instance, in southern India the marriage of a man with his maternal uncle's daughter is good according to custom though it is not good in law. Again, custom allows marriage of Brahmin girls after puberty in Kêrala. Customs such as these must be enforced though they are not authorized by law.

Where it is not possible to dispose of a case in any of these ways the King should decide it according to his own good conscience, provided that he does not act contrary to the advice of the prâdvivâka and the Sabhyas and contrary to law.

Judgment:—To the successful party the King should give a judgment (*Jayapatram*) under his signature and seal. According to

1. Adhis sêma baladhânam nikshêpô sa nidhi striyah
râjasvam srôtriyam dravyam nô pa bhôgêna nasyati

Manu.

Srôtriya grahana manâsaktaupalakshanam.

Mâdhava.

Pañcâsatâbdikô bhôgah taddhi nasyâpakârakah
prativêdam dvâdasâbdah kalo vidyardhînam Smrtah.
Silpa vidyârdhinâm caiva grahanântah prakîrtítah.

Kâtyâyana.

Dhênuryahyô lankaranam yâcitam prati pûrvakam
catuh pañcâbdikam dêvam anyathâ hânim âpnuyât.

Kâtyâyana.

2. Samprîtya bhôjyamânâni na nasyanti kadâcana.

Manu.

Vasishṭha, the Judgment should bear the signatures of the *prâdvivâka* and *the Sabhyas* and the King's seal. It should state concisely the case for the plaintiff, the defence, the evidence adduced, the decision and the law on which the decision is based.

Substantial justice preferred to law:—Doing substantial justice (*Dharma*) is more important than administering law and some of the Smritis give the Courts liberty to deviate from the strict letter of the law where necessary for that purpose. For instance, *Yâgnavalkya* says that where the claim of a plaintiff is made up of parts and the defendant denies the entire claim, he is liable to pay the entire claim provided any portion of it is proved against him. *Kâtyâyana* lays down, on the other hand, that only so much of the claim should be decreed as is proved. *Mâdhavâchârya* understands this rule to apply to cases in which a debtor's son pleads ignorance of his father's liabilities sought to be proved against him. Reading these two provisions together, it seems that the intention of the Smriti writers was that, although ordinarily a plaintiff should get no more than he establishes his title to, by strict evidence, he may get a decree for the entire claim though only a portion of it is proved according to law, if there are circumstances which raise a presumption that the whole claim is true.

Execution of decrees:—Decrees passed against Brahmins should be executed in a conciliatory spirit, while those against others should be executed according to custom. Offending judgment–debtors are liable to be punished.

Court fees and penalties:—In addition to the decree amount, both parties are liable to pay fees to the Court, the successful party by way of fees (*Bhrti*) and the unsuccessful one by way of penalty (*Dandam*). The fee payable by a successful party is 5 % of the decree amount which he realizes. The same is the rate of penalty to be paid by a Judgment debtor in an uncontested case. In contested cases' the rate is doubled. It would seem that no penalty was levied if the Judgment debtor was poor and unable to pay.

A man who makes a false claim is liable to pay a penalty equal to double the amount of his claim. When a party is unable to pay money, he may satisfy the claim by rendering service.

17

LITERARY GLEANINGS

By M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M. A.

Sometimes a broken line, a fragment of a quotation, mere mention of an author, or a humourous pun on a significant word, may furnish curious clues to the determination of the date of authors or at least of their priority in relation to others. Such scraps of information as are gathered in the course of our researches will be given in the following pages which may be of some use to critics and scholars. The remarks that accompany them do not pretend to finally determine the issues but they must be treated as mere suggestions to be read along with other information that scholars may otherwise possess.

1. RUYYAKA

Some scholars are of opinion that Ruchaka whose name we meet in Alankara literature is not Ruyyaka and that the author of the *Alankara-Sarvasva* is only Ruyyaka and not Ruchaka. Ruchaka in *Prakrit* form may become रुअक which degrades into Ruyaka and then into Ruyyaka. Similarly we are inclined to believe that ṭa in Mammaṭa, Lollaṭa etc., must have been a phonetic degradation for Bhaṭṭa and the words must have read once as Mamma-Bhaṭṭa and Lolla-Bhaṭṭa etc. भ in Prakrit tongues is changed into ह and the aspiration disappears in course of time. The change would be something like this:—मम्मभट्ट—मम्महट्ट— मम्मट्ट— मम्मट It may be objected that forms like Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa, Lollaṭa Bhaṭṭa may be wrong, for the name Bhaṭṭa occurs twice; but when Bhaṭṭa becomes an inflexion and it loses its significance another significant epithet is generally added in the Indian languages, In Telugu we meet with names like *Sûramâmba* and *Venkayârya* where *ama* and *aya* are derivatives of ambâ and ârya. Similarly Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa may not be a wrong form.

Mere phonetic derivation of the form of the word Ruchaka may not appeal to critics. A commentator on the Alankâra–Sarvasva says:—

रुचकाचार्योपज्ञस्येयमलङ्कारसर्वस्वे ।
सञ्जीवनीति टीका श्रीविद्याचक्रवर्तिना क्रियते ।।

again at the end of the work,

शव्दस्यासौ विषमविषयो दुर्घटार्थव्यवस्था-
व्यास्यव्याप्तिप्रकटनपटुर्न्यायचर्चागभीरः ।
इत्थं भूम्ना रुचकवचसां विस्तरः कर्कशोऽयं
टीकास्माभिः समुपरचिता तेन सञ्जीवनीयम् ॥

• • Râghavabhaṭṭa uses the word राजानक रुचक in his commentary on Sakuntala (Vide page 58 line 2).

Thus it is surmised that Ruchaka must be the grammatical and Ruyyaka the colloquial form.

2. KSHIRASVAMIN

One of the commentaries on the Amarakośa is ascribed to this author and Dr. Gaṇapati Sastri in his preface to the edition of Daiva suggests that its author (Deva) might have lived after Kshîrasvâmin, who was identified with Kshîra attached to the court of Jayâpîḍa of Kashmir. There is a work called the Nipâtâvyaya-vṛtti whose author is Kshîrasvâmin otherwise called Svêtavanavâsin, a native of Uttarameru village. The same information is given by Kshîrasvâmin who commented on the Unâdi sutras. Most probably this author on grammar may be identified with the commentator on the Amarakosa where he exhibits much erudition in grammar. In his commentary on the Amara [1] he quotes from Bhôja who lived between 998 and 1062 A.D., and in turn quoted by Krishnalîlâśuka who lived earlier than 1300 A.D.

Uttaramêru, the village mentioned by Kshîrasvâmin, is found in several inscriptions and is unanimously identified with Uttaramallur or Uttaramêrur a village 20 miles from Chingleput near Madras; a few miles near it flows the river Pâlâr which rendered into Sanskrit may mean Kshîrataranginî which is the name given by the author to his own commentary. He is otherwise called Svêtavanavâsin the significance of which cannot be traced now. The places called Svêtavana are known in the South Arcot, Tanjore and Malabar Districts. The fact that he lived after Bhôja stands against his identity with Kshîra of Jayâpîḍa's court.

1. Some writers on history relying on antiquated research still persist in the identification of Kshîra with the preceptor of Jayâpîda with Kshîrasvâmin, the commentator of the Amarakosa. The latter quotes from Bhôja's Sṛngâraprakâśa of 1050 and hence the identity is not tenable.

In a drama called the Abhinavarâghava quoted in the Nâṭyadarpaṇa by Râmachandra, a pupil of Hêmachandra, Sthâpaka says—

आर्य चिरस्य स्मृतम्—

अस्त्येव राघवमहीनकथा पवित्रं
काव्यं प्रबन्धघटनाप्रथितप्रथिम्नः ।
भट्टेन्दुराजचरणाब्जमधुव्रतस्य
क्षीरस्य नाटकमनन्यसमानसारम् ॥

and Râmachandra in introducing the above quotation says—

यथा क्षीरस्वामिविरचिते ऽभिनवराघवे.

A question may arise whether this Kshîrasvâmin is the same as the grammarian mentioned. We know that Bhaṭṭêndurâja was a Kashmirian and tutor to Abhinavagupta and brother of Hêlaraja, who commented on the well-known grammatical work of Bhartṛhari. Bhaṭṭêndurâja was a great grammarian and poet. Whether Kshîrasvâmin, the pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja, was a native of Kashmir or a southerner is not known and if he is identified with the commentator of Amarakôsa, how could he, being a pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja who lived in 1000 A. D., quote from Bhôja's work which must have been written a few decades later? Śâradâtanaya, author of the Bhâvaprakâśa says that he was a native of a village Mâṭharapûjya near Merûttara in Āryâvarta where there were a thousand brahmin houses.

आर्यावर्त्ताह्वये देशे स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।
मेरूत्तर इति ख्यातस्तस्य दक्षिणभागतः ।
ग्रामो माठरपूज्याख्यो द्विजसाहस्रसंमितः ॥

These two names Uttaramêru and Merûttara will throw further confusion regarding their identity. Merûttara, it may be suggested, is the modern Meerut in Hindustan, i. e., Aryâvarta. I remember to have met with a quotation, which I am now unable to trace out, where Mêrûttara was spoken as a town in Kashmir itself. If that is true and if Kshîrasvâmin uses Uttaramêru as a synonym for Mêrûttara he might be taken as a Kashmirian and pupil of Bhaṭṭêndurâja and it may be held that he might have written his commentary on Amara in his later life when Bhôja's *Ashtâdhyâyî* and the first part of Śṛngâraprakâśa, where he deals with grammar *in extenso* were published. But if the identity of the two towns with Meerut is held, he must have been a native of Meerut and might have even then studied in Kashmir. But lastly if Uttaramêru is not Mêrûttara then Kshîrasvâmin being a native of the south might still have gone to Kashmir and studied under

the illustrious author. Though truth cannot be ascertained these references throw a flood of light on the history of Kshîrasvâmin and may serve as inducement for further investigation.

3. JAYAMANGALA

A number of commentaries under this name are attributed in their colophons to one Śankara and it reads in different works and in different copies in various forms as शङ्करविरचिते, शङ्करार्यविरचिते शङ्कराचार्यविरचिते, शङ्करभगवत्पादविरचिते. गोविन्दभगवत्पादशिष्य भगवच्छङ्कराचार्य विरचिते, शङ्करपरिव्राड्विरचिते etc.,

These colophons do not lead us to a definite conclusion as to the real identity of the author.

The commentary on the Bhaṭṭikâvya is called Jayamangalâ and it is far inferior to that of Mallinâtha and its author known in various manuscript copies by various names, one of which is Śankara, does not show much erudition. Jayamangalâ on Sânkhyasaptati is very meagre and decidedly inferior to the commentary of Gauḍapâda or even of Vâchaspatimiśra on the same work. In the colophon, the commentator's name is found as Śankarâchârya. The Jayamangalâ on the Kâmasutras of Vâtsyâyana is now finally attributed to Śankara and Yasôdhara was only a scribe after all. In the commentary the author displays deep learning in various branches of knowledge. Jayamangalâ on Kâmandaka is of greater merit and the author shows his intimate acquaintance with a number of works on Arthasâstra which are now extinct. Jayamangalâ on Kauṭilya's Arthaśâstra is a more learned work and is indeed the best of the four available commentaries on it. There are strikingly common passages in the Jayamangalâs on Kâmandaka and the Arthaśâstra and that is not curious as the subject and the particular passages to be commented upon are the same.

Dr. Gaṇapati Sâstri, hesitating, to assign Jayamangalâ on Kâmandaka to Śankarâchârya, calls Śankara as Śankaravârya which is not warranted by the colophons in any of the manuscripts that we have so far examined. All these Jayamangalâs are extensively read and found in Malabar. To relieve the anxiety of some critics that the great Āchâryâ should not be associated with the authorship of these commentaries under the same name we have to search for another Śankarâchârya in Malabar who, besides being an author, must be a pupil of Gôvindabhagavatpâda. We shall try to find one to answer our purpose.

In the commentary on Vâtsyâyana one of the quotations[1] is traced to Ratirahasya of Kokkôka who belongs to the tenth century

1. "रक्तजाः कृमयः सूक्ष्माः....यथाबलम्" (II. 1 Kama Sutra)

and in my opinion later than Ṡâkyabhikshu, the author of Nâgarasarvasva. Jayamangalâ on Vâtsyâyana may therefore be assigned to some period later than 1000 A. D.

There is a commentary called Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa on Vyâsabhâshya of Pâtanjala-Yôgadarśana and it was written by one Ṡankarâchârya, a pupil of Gôvindabhagavân and in one of the colophons the commentary is called Bhagavatpâdîya. One is tempted to suggest that this Ṡankara might have been the author of so many Jayamangalâs. We have very recently come across a commentary on Ṡâbarabhâshya called Bhâshyapradîpa ascribed to the authorship of Ṡankarâchârya. At the end of one of the colophons to close the line the scribe wrote Payyur-Bhagavatpâda-virachitam—of course the manuscript once belonged to the well-known Payyur Patteri of Malabar who flourished between 1300 and 1400 A. D., or even later. Hence the Bhâshyapradîpa must be ascribed to one Ṡankarâchârya belonging to the family of Payyur. Tne Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa exhibits deep learning in all the darśanas and judging from the style and mode of the commenting it appears to be the production of the author of the Bhâshyapradîpa. To support this identity an instance may be adduced.

There was a great scholar in Payyur family called Ṛshi and his son Paramêśvara was known as Mimâmsakachakravartin, whose names are respectfully mentioned in Kokilasandeśa [1] and Mallikâ mâruta [2] by Uddaṇḍa. Paramêśvara wrote commentaries on several Mîmâmsâ works as Kâś.kâ, Manḍana's Sphôṭasiddhi, Ṡâbarabhâshya, Nyâyakaṇikâ, Tattvabindu etc. Under the 27th sloka in the Sphôṭasiddhi Manḍanamiśra quotes a few slokas (712-717) from Slokavârtıka of Kumârila and Paramêśvara in interpreting them according to the older reading changes the main line of argument. He says with reference to the 713th sloka.

तत्पूर्वं प्रतिपादनादिति पाठो रत्नाकर काशिकयोः। निबन्धनकारेण तु पूर्वं तत्प्रतिपादनादिति पाठोऽङ्गीकृतः। गवादेः पूर्वं गकारादेः प्रतिपादनादित्यर्थः व्याप्तिस्तु यत्पूर्वं यत्प्रतिपाद्यते तत्तस्यप्रतिपादकम् ' यथा प्रदीपारोहणं प्रतिपाद्यस्य घटस्येति पूर्ववद् द्रष्टव्या।

Manḍanamiśra reads पूर्वं तत्प्रतिपादनात् in his vritti on the 27th sloka. Even Umbêka in his commentary on Slôkavârtika follows the same reading. Later on owing to some difficulty in maintaining the Mîmâmsaka's position against Bhartṛhari a different reading was probably adopted.

Paramêśwara's commentary in maintaining the Sphôṭa here tacitly agrees with the view taken in Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa where the

1. तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः
2. उक्तं च मीमांसकचक्रवर्तिना ऋषिपुत्रपरमेश्वरेण

existence of Sphôṭa seems to have been maintained, while great Śankara in his Śârîrakàbhâshya in the Dêvatâdhikaraṇa rejects it. The similarity of discussion ensures the belief that Paramêśvara must have been directly inspired by the views of his uncle or preceptor, Śankarâchârya, as expressed in Yôgavivaraṇa and who was also his tutor. In the Yogabhashyavivaraṇa (Vide page 241 in the Ms. in G. O. Mss. Library, Madras) the same verses were commented upon and the readings are suggested as given by Manḍana in favour of sphoṭa. For example Sankara suggests in it—तस्मादयमपि श्लोक एवं पठितव्य:—"प्रतिषेधेत य: स्फोटं वर्णाधीरमनन्तरम्। दृष्टबाधो भवेत्तस्य शशिचन्द्रनिषेधवत्। वर्णार्थी वर्णाधीरेषा तज्ज्ञानान्तरोद्भवात्" Parameśvara works upon this suggestion in his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

Paramêśvara commented on the Nyâyakaṇikâ and a colophon reads as follows:—

इति श्रीमद्दषिगौरीनन्दनश्रीमद्भवदासपितृव्य श्रीमच्छङ्करपूज्यपादशिष्यपरमेश्वरकृतौ स्वदितंकरण्यां तृतीय: श्लोक:।

and at another place,

कालप्रत्यक्षतावादमेवं व्याख्यदृषेस्सुत:।
भवदासपितृव्यस्य प्रसादादेव केवलात्॥
कायवाङ्मनसां सम्यक् प्रह्वीभावेन शङ्करे।
अन्यथाख्यातिभावेऽपि स व्याख्यातुं समुद्यत:॥

This shows that Śankara must have been one of Paramêśvara's relatives and his tutor. For, in a work called Śivodaya the author Vâsudêva, one of the eight brothers of Paramêśvara, describes his family and mentions Śankara as one of his uncles. Payyur family, though well learned in the Vedânta devoted themselves to the resuscitation of Mimâmsâ. Almost every work of both Bhâṭṭa and Prâbhâkara schools was commented upon by the members of this family. Nârâyaṇa, one of his brothers, commented on the Bhâvanâvivêka and Vibhramavivêka of Manḍaṇa. Paramêśvara probably hints at the suggestion that Payyur family descended from Manḍanamiśra or his pupil in the following words at the end of his commentary on Sphoṭasiddhi.

मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नश:।
तद्वंश्येन मयाऽप्येषा रचिताराध्यदेवताम्॥

He commented on the Tattvabindu also. His grandson commented on the Nîtitattvâvirbhâvâ of Chidânanda. His cousin Nârâyaṇa commented

on Nayatattvasangraha, a work of Vishnu, who also belonged to the same family. Bhavadâsa, his uncle, wrote a number of commentaries on the Kalpasûtra works.

Thus Bhâshyapradîpa and Yôgabhâshyavivaraṇa are decidedly the compositions of one and the same Sankarâcharya, who, as said by Vâsudêva, was the pupil of Gôvinda-Bhagavatpâda. We are inclined to think that all the Jayamangalâs must have been the productions of this Śankara.

In writing this essay we are at a great disadvantage in not having in our possession here the manuscripts of the works or the printed works referred to and hence the actual passages or even the page reference could not be given.

4. VINDHYAVASIN

Vindhyavâsin is one of the few great writers whose works are not still available anywhere. There are several references in Sanskrit to his views in some of the leading works on Mîmâmsa, Grammar, Alankâra, Yoga etc.,. Several critics made good attempts at his identification with any known author or to locate his position in the chronology of literature. Even Western and Japanese critics have thrown to light some matter leading to his identity. There are some critics, among whom the editors of Mâṭhara-vritti may be mentoned with honour, who consider that Vindhyavâsin is only an appellation given to Vyâḍi, the author of *Sangraha* on grammar mentioned by Patanjali (1–1–64). Lexicographers like Kêśava, Hêmachandra etc., give Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin as synonyms. Further light on this identity has been thrown by a passage quoted under Vyâḍi and Vindhyâvâsin by Umbêka *alias* Bhavabhuti in his commentary on Slôkavârtika. Dr. Keith in his *Sânkhya system* identifies Vindhyavâsin with Isvarakṛishna the author of Sânkhya Kârikâs and again in his *Karma Mimamsa* he considers that Vindhyavâsa is different from Vindhyavâsin on the supposition that one is a Mîmâmsaka and the other a Sânkhya. An attempt is made in the following lines to establish that Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin refer to the same author, that the two names Vindhyavâsa and Vindhyavâsin are mere synonyms and lastly that Vindhyavâsin and Îsvarakrishna must be two different persons.

1. Vindhyavâsin is the same as Vindhyavâsa, for when Kumârila says,

तेन नात्यन्तभिन्नोऽर्थः सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम् ।
ग्रन्थे विन्ध्यनिवासेन भ्रान्तैः सादृश्यमुच्यते ॥

(Slokavârtika–Akṛtivâda)

Umbeka the commentator remarks:—

किंच विन्ध्यवासिनोऽपि पिण्डसारूप्यमपि सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्रायः

and thus uses Vindhyavâsin as a synonym of Vindhyânivâsa found in the original of Kumârila.

Secondly Kumârila has

अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना

while Medhâtithi in his commentary on Manusmṛti I–55 referring to the same doctrine of the rejection of an intermediary body between death and re-birth says:—

सांख्या अपि केचिन्नान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतयः

Thus Kumârila and Medhâtithi mean that the two names refer to the same person.

2. Identification of Iśvarakrishna with Vindhyavâsin by Dr. Keith is based on Takakusu's identity of Vârshagaṇya. This has not been accepted by the Sanskrit scholars. In addition to their arguments one quotation from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nâṭyaśâstra will suffice to dispel the illuson of the learned Doctor

अक्षपादो युगपज्ज्ञानानुत्पत्तिर्मनसो लिङ्गमिति। मनसस्त्विविघोभाव इति। वैशेषिकादिदृशि मनस्संयोगजो य आत्मन इच्छाद्वेषमाध्यस्थलक्षणो स मनस इत्युक्तः। कापिलदृशि तु विन्ध्यवासिनो मनस एव। ईश्वरकृष्णादिमते मनः शब्देनात्र बुद्धिप्रह्लादनेन श्रोतस्येत्यादिकं विषयग्रहणक्रिया त्वभीष्टविषयत्वे मिश्रयितव्यम्। (XXII–32).

Here Isvarakṛshṇa holds a different conception of *manas* from that of Vindhyavâsin. An examination of Sânkhya Kârikas reveals that its author must have lived later than Vindhyavâsin.

3. Regarding the important identity of Vindhyavâsin with Vyâḍi further evidence is adduced by Umbêka who gives out the following introduction to Kumârila's verse—

सारूप्यमेव पिण्डानां सामान्यं येन कल्प्यते।
तेन सारूप्यशब्देन किं पुनः प्रतिपाद्यते॥

अत्र व्याडिराह—पिण्डसारूप्यमेव सामान्यमिति। तत्रायं सामान्यशब्द एकपर्यायो वा स्यात्। यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तयोः समानधनमेकधनमित्यर्थः। सदृशपर्यायो वा। अस्ति च सदृशपर्यायः। यथा देवदत्तेन सह समानरूपः सदृशरूप इत्यर्थः। तदत्र किंवचनोऽभिप्रेत इति परमतमनुभाष्य पृच्छति सारूप्यमिति

and again under Kumârila's verse—

व्यक्तितश्चातिरेको ऽस्य स्यान्न वेति विचारिते।
सामान्यमेव सादृश्यं भवेद्वा व्यक्तिमात्रकम्॥

Umbeka says—

किं च विन्ध्यवासिनो ऽपि पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्यमिति वदतो नायमभिप्रायः सादृश्यरूपं सामान्यमिति। किं तु पिण्डरूपमेव सामान्यं न पिण्डव्यतिरिक्तमित्यभिप्रायः। भ्रान्तैस्तु तदीयमभिप्रायमजानानैरन्यादृशमेव तद् व्याख्यातमित्याह—

तेन नात्यन्तभिन्नो ऽर्थः सारूप्यमिति वर्णितम्।
ग्रन्थे विन्ध्यनिवासेन भ्रान्तैः सादृश्यमुच्यते॥ इति

Thus Umbeka in his quotation "पिण्डसारूप्यं सामान्य" मिति under two authors Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin establishes their identity beyond any doubt.

This identification of Vindhyavâsin with Vyâḍi has been rejected by some critics on the ground that the latter lived earlier than Patanjali and is known as a grammarian while the former, a writer on Sânkhya darśana, was an opponent to the Buddhist writer Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. The Chinese annals of the Buddhist teachers are after all traditions as collected by some Chinese scholars who travelled through India and their statements before taken as authority must be corraborated by other evidence. Vindhyavâsin might have defeated some Buddhist writer of the name of Buddhamitra who was identified with the teacher of Vasubandhu or there must be an error in giving the date of Vasubandhu himself.

Coming to the identity of Vyâḍi with Vindhyavâsin the nature of references may lead our way. Kumârila mentions the latter as a Vyaktivâdin and discusses the meaning of the word *Sârûpya* as to its significance of sameness or similarity of form. This discussion comes under Ākṛtivâda (conception by species or commonness). Of course the term Ākṛti in Mimâmsâ means what is called Jâti by grammarians. Wherever Vyâḍi is mentioned he is called a *vyaktivâdin* who holds that *padârtha* denotes *dravya* taken in a particular sense. Patanjali, Bhartṛhari, and his commentator, all mention Vyâdi's views in this connection. Helarâja, defining the broader denotation of the word *Dravya* introduces Bhartrhari's verse—

आत्मा वस्तु स्वभावश्च शरीरं तत्त्वमित्यपि।
द्रव्यमित्यस्य पर्यायास्तच्च नित्यमिति स्फुटम्॥

with the following remarks:—

वाजप्यायनदर्शनेन जातिं विशेषणभूतां पदार्थं व्यवस्थाप्य व्याडिदर्शनेन विशेष्यरूपं द्रव्यमपि पदार्थं व्यवस्थापयितुं यथादर्शनं तदेव पर्यायान्तरैरुद्दिशति आत्मेति

and then says

आकृतिद्वारेण चान्ये शब्दा द्रव्ये वर्तन्ते॥

Bhôja in his Sṛngâraprakâśa (VI. P.) discussing the denotation of the three terms *Jâti*, *Akrti*, and *vyakti* as used by Gautama in his Nyâya-Sûtras mentions the theories of both Vâjapyâyana and Vyâḍi for the maintenance of *Jâti-Vyakti* conceptions as given by Patanjali and Helarâja, and concludes it in the following words:—

आकृतिरेव पदार्थ इति विन्ध्यवासिमतगन्धीयाः,

where the term *Akrti* means only *samsthâna* or the identical shape and not species or *Jâti* as Mîmâmsakas used it. Bhôja explains the word *Akrti* from a quotation from Nyâyamanjarî:—

तत्राकृतिपदेनेह संस्थानमभिधीयते।

लोके शास्त्रे च दृष्टत्वान्न जातिर्जैमिनीयवत्॥

Thus Bhoja when he mentions Vindhyavâsin means only Vyâḍi whose views he was discussing. Bhoja quotes the following verses under Vyâḍîyâh on the same topic:—

यथा जलादिभिर्व्यक्तं द्रव्यमेवाभिधीयते।

यथा द्रव्यैरभिव्यक्ता जातिरेवाभिधीयते।

यथेन्द्रियगते भेद इन्द्रियग्रहणादृते।

इन्द्रियार्थेष्वदृश्ये ऽपि ज्ञानभेदाय कल्पते॥

विनारूपग्रह.... व्यक्तयस्तथा।

सामान्ये ज्ञानभेदानामुपयान्ति निमित्तताम्॥

इति व्यक्तिरेव शब्दार्थ इति व्याडीयाः।

Śâlikanâtha commenting upon *Akrti* Sûtra (I-3-33) says

अतो "व्यक्त्यभिधानी मन्यते" (इति) व्याडिरिति निर्दिशितम्

(the words in quotation are of Prabhâkara) while the same व्यक्तिवादी is considered as Vindhyavâsin by Kumârila in his *Akrtivâda*.

Thus in conclusion Vyâḍi or Vindhyavâsin was a Sânkhya writer who flourished before Patanjali.

Since writing the above paragraphs Dr. Bhattacharya's article on Vindhyavâsin published in the Journal of Indian History, April 1927, attracted my attention; where the Learned Doctor rejects the identity of Vyâḍi with Vindhyavâsin probably on the ground of chronology which I am disposed to think is dubious and questionable at every stage. The doctor gives the real name of Vindhyavâsin as Rudrila. Some of the great writers are known by more than one name. Bhavabhûti was called Umbêka, Surêśvara and Viśvarûpa, in different

stages of his activity. Vyâḍi and Vindhyavâsin may appear to be nicknames of Rudrila. Vyâḍi, a ferocious elephant and Vindhyavâsa, a resident of the Vindhya forest, may after all be applied Rudrila.

Regarding his date, he seems to have flourished in the second or third century before Christ. Dr. Bhattâcharya also supposes that Isvarakṛshna lived later than Vindhyavâsin. Mâṭhara was according to Itsing a contemporary of Asvaghôsha. Isvarakṛshna, whose work was commented on by Mâṭhara, may be assigned to the first century of Christ. Is Isvarakṛishna the same as Jesus Christ? One is tempted to ask it if he reads *"The Unknown life of Jesus Christ"* which relates that Jesus learnt Sânkhya under a brahmin teacher at Jagannatha. Even Suśruta follows Sânkhya doctrines and Vindhya-vâsin in his Sânkhya work must have discussed the denotation of Śabdârtha and his views were held in high respect by Patanjali, Bhartṛhari etc.,.

5. BHIKSHU

The commentators on Slokavârtika of Kumârila frequently refer to one Bhikshu as the opponent whose opinions Kumarila is considered to criticise. The identity of Bhikshu will go far towards the elucidation of certain problems in the history of the Nyâyadarśana. Kumbhakarṇa in his Sangîtarâja frequently quotes from Bhikshu and Śâkya-Bhikshu, and the quotations are now traced to Nâgarasarvasva of Padmaśrî, a Buddhist monk. But Bhikshu of Kumârila appears to be Dharmakîrti, who defined *pratyaksha pramâna* in the terms of

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तम्—

and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa criticises the definition and says:—

तस्माद्यत्कल्पनापोढपदं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणे ।
भिक्षुणा पठितं तस्य व्यवच्छेद्यं न विद्यते ॥
अभ्रान्तपदस्यापि व्यावर्त्यं न किंचन तन्मतेन पश्यामः ।
इति सुनिपुणबुद्धिर्लक्षणं वक्तुकामः
पदयुगलमपीदं निर्ममे नानवद्यम् ।
भवतु मतिमहिम्नश्चेष्टितं दृष्टमेत-
ज्जगदभिभवधीरं धीमतो धर्मकीर्तेः ॥

This Bhikshu seems to have written a work called Bahyârtha-siddhi. Two references to this work are traceable one in Prakaraṇa-Panchikâ:—

अप्रकाशात्मन एव प्रकाशः संभवतीति बाह्यार्थसिद्धावुक्तम् ।

The second is found in Jayamiśra's commentary on his father's Slokavârtika. In condemning अपोहवाद the *Purvapaksha* forming the opinion of Dharmakîrti is summarised thus :—

अथ तत्र साधकप्रत्ययेन मिथ्यात्वग्रहणादसत्यत्वमबाधितरूपे तु सत्यत्वमिति विवेको दृश्यते। तदस्मत्पक्षे ऽपि यत्र नेति प्रत्ययो ऽन्यतरं न भवति तत्र पारम्पर्येण प्रतिबन्धो ऽस्ति। यत्र तु भवति तत्र तु नेति गम्यते। यथोक्तमस्माभिर्बाह्यार्थसिद्धौ—

यथाविधं घटं दृष्ट्वा द्वैतवादी न चेष्टते।
ज्ञात्वा ताथाविधं ज्ञानमद्वैतीकिं न चेष्टते॥
तस्मादयमिति न दोषः। एतेन शब्दापोहो व्याख्यातः।

And then Jayamiśra concludes it:—

इत्यन्यापोहशब्दार्थौ कल्पितौ शाक्यभिक्षुणा।
गतानुगतिकैरन्यैः कष्टं तावनुवर्तितौ॥

Bahyârthasiddhi may be a section of Dharmakîrti's work as it is customary that authors in those days named sections instead of works to facilitate reference.

Anyâpoha theory so ably propounded by Dharmakîrti was attacked by Bhâmaha who criticises also the definition of प्रत्यक्ष as given by Dingnâga. In stating पूर्वपक्ष of Dharmakîrti स्फोट is mentioned as condemned by the Buddhist logician. Bhâmaha refers to Diṅgnâga and Dharmakîrti thus:—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं ततो ऽर्थादिति केचन।
कल्पनां नामजात्यादियोजनां प्रतिजानते॥ (Against Diṅgnaga)
अन्यापोहेन शब्दार्थमाहेत्यन्ये प्रचक्षते।
अन्यापोहस्य नामान्यपदार्थे विकृतिः किल॥ (Against Dharmakîrti)

Diṅgnâga's definition of Pratyaksha given in his Nyâyapraveśa may be the aim of Bhâmaha's criticism:—

तत्र प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं यज्ज्ञानमर्थे रूपादौ नामजात्यादिकल्पनारहितं तदक्षमक्षं प्रतिवर्तत इति प्रत्यक्षम्।

We have elsewhere stated that Râmaśarman, a friend of Dandin and a poet, must have been the author of Achyutôttara referred to by

Bhâmaha who was an elder contemporary of Dandin. Maskarin, the commentator on Gautama Dharma Sutras calls himself the son of Bhâmaha at the end of his work:—

गौतमीयच्छलेनेदं सर्वस्मृतिनिबन्धनम्।

क्रियते ऽद्य मया भाष्यं सूनुना भामहस्य तु॥

This in conjunction with his attack on the two Buddhist logicians will surely discount the opinion that Bhâmaha was a Buddhist.

6. VIDYARANYA AS A WRITER ON MUSIC

It would be a surprise to scholars that Vidyâraṇya doubly bent upon the Darśanas especially Mimâmsâ and Vedanta should write on music. Of course his activities were multifarious, and in the midst of his ministerial duties it is really no wonder that an inspired genius as his worked also in the fine arts. King Raghunâtha of Tanjore while summarising his authorities for his composition of his Sangita-sudhâ respectfully says:—

संगीतसारं समवेद्य विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणप्रणीतम्।

and again when analysing the *râgas* has the following:—

निरूपिता लक्षणतो विविच्य रागाश्चतुष्षष्ट्यधिके शते द्वे।

कर्णाटसिंहासनभाग्यविद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणाग्रणीभ्यः॥

and closely follows the sage's method. In enumerating the *doshas* in tunes the same author says:

दोषांश्च तेषां प्रवदामि विद्यारण्याभिधश्रीचरणोपदिष्टान्।

again,

स्वरूपमेषामिह लक्षितानां संगीतसारे विशदीकृतं च

and still later on,

चतुर्विधैः श्रीचरणैर्निरुक्तं शारीरमेतत्प्रविभज्य सम्यक्।

The work Sangitasâra was studied throughout South India and was amply quoted by name by Chikkadêvarâya of Mysore in his Bharata-sârasangraha and by Nârâyaṇadeva of Parlâkimiḍi in his Sangita-nârâyaṇa. Among the quotations by the former a reference to the number of *tânas* reads as follows:—

इत्येकाशीतिसंयुक्तं सहस्राणां चतुष्टयम्।

तानानां पुनरुक्तानां पूर्णापूर्णैः सह क्रमैः॥

लक्षत्रयं सप्तदशसहस्राणि शतानि च।

नवत्रिंशद्युतानीति ज्ञानोपायो ऽत्र कथ्यते॥

and bears agreement with the enumeration given by Abhinavagupta.

There is a manuscript in the Maharaja's Library at Bikanir called Sangîtasâra which consists of about 160 slokas without its author's name. The work maintains the theory of Nandikeśvara, who, we know from Aumâpata, enumerates 264 ragas. Whether the work is a summary or a fragment of Vidyâraṇya's production has yet to be decided. But some of the points dealt with in it appear to be developments in music attained in the 16th or the 17th century and lacks in the grandeur that we usually find in Vidyâraṇya's works.

7. 'AVANTISUNDARI' IN SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA

In the first edition of Svapnavâsavadatta on page 59 Vidûshaka says

मा दाणि भवं अत्ताणं ओहसिअं कादुं। किम्तु इमस्सिं राजउळे अवन्तिसुन्दरी णाम जक्खिणी पडिवसदि ॥

The word *Avantisundari* with its epithet *Yakshinî* is curious and may signify, in the opinions of those critics who assign the present form of Svapnavâsavadatta to the Pallava Court, that it must refer to the heroine of Dandin's Avantisundarî-kathâ. In that work a series of stories unveiling their previous births are related and Mandâkinî and Târâvalî are described as Yaksha women who were born on the earth owing to some curse. Both Râjavâhana and Avantisundarî appear to be Yakshas in their earlier births. Dandin seems to conclude his story with the completion of the curse with the incident that Râjavâhana was transformed into a lotus and was washed by the waves of the sea at the feet of God Trivikrama at Mâmallapura where Dandin saw the lotus becoming a divine being at the touch of the God's feet when the curse was over.

Some of the dramas now ascribed to Bhasa seem to be adaptations for the stage in the times of the Pallavas and not in Malabar. 'Râjasimha' at the end of some of the dramas may refer to Râjasimha I, or even Simhavishṇu who was called Râjasimha in an alliterative attribute used by Dandin. Some critics fancy that the presence of Malayalam words in these dramas in the Prakrit portions assign their nativity to Malabar but on a closer examination they find to be Prakrit words imported into all the Dravidian tongues and not in Malayalam alone. Thus these words alone do not prove any forgery in Malabar. It must be said to the credit of Malabar copyists that they never tampered with the originals when they copied any work in whatever condition it was available. We shall speak of Bhasa again in our edition of Sudraka's Vatsarâjacharita promised in the "Dakshiṇabhârati" Series.

8. SĀNKHYANĀYAKA MĀDHAVA

There is a reference to this Sânkhya writer in Umbeka's commentary on the Slokavârtika of Kumarila. As far as I can gather no other writer has mentioned his name. The context in which Umbeka (= Bhavabhûti) mentions him is as follows:—In the Chodanâ-Śutra Sabarasvâmin says

"अर्थो ऽनर्थश्चेति । ....कोऽनर्थः....। यः प्रत्यवायायश्येनो वज्रः इषु रित्येवमादिः ।....कथं पुनरसावनर्थः हिंसा हि सा"

In this context Kumârila in his Vârtika raises an objection or pûrvapaksha as—

क्वचिदस्या निषिद्धत्वाच्छक्तिः शास्त्रेण बोधिता ।
प्रत्यवायनिमित्तत्वे विधिना नापगच्छति ॥
शास्त्रेण न हि शक्तीनामावापोद्वापनक्रियाः ।
विद्यमाना हि कथ्यन्ते शक्तयो द्रव्यकर्मणाम् ॥
तथैव चेदं कर्मेति शास्त्रमेवानुधावता ।
हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कथ्यते नानुमानतः ॥"

Umbeka introduces the above Pûrvapaksha thus—

सांख्यनायकमाधवस्त्वाह विहायानुमानादीन्विधिप्रतिषेधत्वनिबन्धनत्वमेव धर्माधर्मयोरवलम्ब्याग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मतामाह—क्वचिदस्येति—

अयमर्थः—सत्यं विधिप्रातिषेधनिबन्धनावेव धर्माधर्मौ । तौ तु विधिप्रातिषेधौ तयोरिष्टानिष्टशक्तिज्ञापकौ न पुनः कारकौ । ततः किमिति चेदिदं ततो भवति—हिंसा तावदेका व्यक्तिस्त्रैलोक्येऽपि । तस्याश्च क्वचिल्लोके ब्रह्महत्यादिषु 'न हिंस्यात्सर्वभूतानीति प्रतिषेधादनिष्टसाधनत्वशक्तिरवगमिता न च प्रतिहता । सेदानीं विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु हिंसा या विशेषान्नापगच्छति । न हि तेषां विधेयेष्वग्नीषोमीयादिषु ब्रह्महत्या-दिषु वा कश्चिद्विशेषः । तत्र यदि नामाग्नीषोमीयादिषु विधिरपरः प्रतीयते किं तावदपूर्वप्रामिता शक्तिरपगच्छतिरः । तत्र न हि विधेरपगतानिष्टसाधनशत्तचपगमे कश्चिद्व्यापारः तत्र विधितः श्रेयः साधनत्वावगमात्अतः । सर्वशास्त्रानुसारादेव हिंसादीनामधर्मत्वं कल्प्यते, न पुनरनुमानतः इति स्थितमग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मत्वम् ॥

This is the argument of Mâdhava in dealing with the force of vedic injunction which he seems to accept as only a ज्ञापक and not as कारक and in the apparent inconsistency of विधि and प्रतिषेध the validity of vedic injunction will be thrown out and अनुमान has to be accepted. Kumarila and also Prabhâkara and his pupil answer this objection properly.

Mâdhava with his title Sânkhyanâyaka must be a great Sânkhya writer probably later than Śabarasvâmin. In the catalogue of the Mss. in the Jessalmere Bhandar published in the Gaekwad series of Baroda a doubtful entry has been made of a commentator on Sânkhyasaptati where the initial letter मा alone is given. The learned editors naturally conclude that the letter may indicate माठर a well-known commentator on the same. It will be happy and bold conjecture that the work referred to is a commentary of Mâdhava. A trial at the identity of that manuscript may not be unprofitable for research scholars.

(To be continued)

CHEEDIVALASA PLATES OF DEVENDRAVARMA

By R. SUBBA RAO, M. A., L. T.

An article on these copper-plates, prepared by Mr. Karri Sambamurti Sastri of Narasannapeta, Ganjam Dt., was read in Telugu before the Telugu academy meetings held at Cocanada on 30th January 1927. It was later on edited in telugu by the same scholar in the Journal of the Academy dated March 1927. It is said that the present set of plates was discovered by a ryot, while digging earth in Cheedivalasa, a hamlet two miles off Narasannapeta. It was secured for the teachers' association, Narasannapeta by the then Deputy Inspector of schools there. At the request of the association, Mr. Sambamurti Sastri edited the same. I am thankful to Mr. Sastri for kindly sending over the plates to the society and for allowing me to edit the same in English in the Society's research Journal. I must also express my gratitude to my friend, Mr. G. V. Sithapati of Parlakimidi for giving me rivised readings of the plates. These readings differ from the original readings of Mr. Sastri in several places.

The present set of plates is three in number. On the first side of the first plate, nothing is written except that a conch-shell, one inch long, is carved out on it. The second side of the third plate contains only three lines of subject-matter relating to the inscription. One inch below the same is carved out a lotus creeper containing a flower and two buds on either side of it. The flower as well as the buds have long stems of over an inch. The second side of the first plate contains nine lines, while the two sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate contain ten lines each.

Each plate measures nine inches in length, three and half inches in width and one-fourth of an inch in thickness. At a distance of an inch from the edge of each plate, there is a hole three-fourths of an inch in diameter through which runs a copper ring. The ring holding the plates is half an inch thick and 15 inches in circumference. Its diameter measures 5 inches. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal which is three-fourths inch thick, three-inches in diameter, and eight inches in circumference. The lowest part of the seal contains a lotus flower with its long stem and on it is fixed a seat and on the seat lies a couchant bull facing proper left. At the topmost part of the seal, there is a crescent and below it the legend 'Sri Devendravarma, inscribed in old Devanagari characters. The seal and the various figures found on it seem to be cast.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, but the village names are all in old telugu language. The ring with seal weighs

62½ tolas and the three copperplates together weigh 157½ tolas. Thus, the total set weighs 220 tolas. The rims of the plates and of the seal are raised so as to keep the writing and the figures intact.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit but the village names are all in old telugu. The use of the prakrit word 'Samvachchhara' is significant. The inscription contains eight anushtubh slokas, one indravraja vritta and one viyogini vritta. The rest is in prose. The subject matter of the inscription seems to be composed, by Mudhapa, though it is stated that he is only the scribe. It would appear from the inscription that it was examined by two scholars Bhatta Srîdhara and Bhatta Yazu. However, the defects which are usually found in mediaeval Sanscrit inscriptions are also found in this, as, for example, the use of 'visarga' and 'dvittva' in places where it ought to be found is not to be found and also the 'saṁdhi' rules are not observed in the 'gadya' portion.

The writing on the plates is in a good state of preservation, though in some portions of the plates we see some traces of old writing superimposed by new matter. The alphabet used is old Devanagari. The chief points that call for orthographical notice are the following. 1. No difference is observed between a and â, ê and ai, da and ḍa, va and ba, ca and ta, la and ḷa, etc.

2. Vowels like u i, e ai and au do not occur independently and separately.

3. The doubling of consonants is not done in several places.

4. The letters pa, ya and sa resemble one another closely.

5. The guttural nasal is used instead of anusvara.

6. The use of lingual for palatal nasal as in maṇjari, puṇja etc., is seen.

DATE

The date of the inscription is given in lines 40 and 41 both in words and numbers. It is "pravardhamana vijaya rajya samvacharanam sata traya saptadhika navati" ankenapi 397, Evidently, this refers to the 397th year of the Gangeya era. Please read the note on the same at the end of the article.

THE GRANT

The present grant is very important for the following reasons:—

1. It is the longest grant yet discovered of the early eastern Ganga kings consisting of 42 lines.

2. It gives the pedigree of the early Ganga line to four generations unlike the other records.

3. It is the only record discovered so far in which we get gifts made by early Gangas to Vanga or Bengal brahmins.

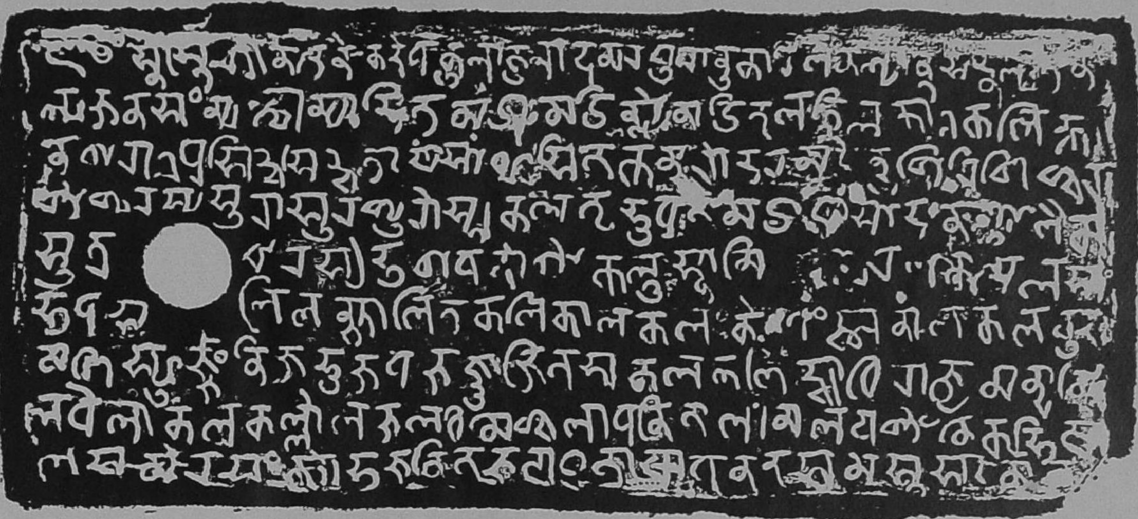
4. It is so far the latest record of the early Ganga dynasty discovered. The donor's father unlike the donors of earlier grants possesses titles like Maharadhiṛaja Paramesvara and Parama Mahesvara which prove his paramount supremacy. Such titles were taken for the first time in the Eastern Chalukya dynasty by Vijaya-ditya, the second (800–843, A. D.)

The inscription records a grant of Sividi—Pradesa in the village of Kandalivâda, made by Bhupendravarma's son Sree Devendra varma on the occasion of the solar eclipse to the villagers of Sipidi by name Aditya bhatta, Yajubhatta and Sendidevabhatta, etc, who were of Vanga country (Bengal) and who were of Bhâradvâja gotra and who were eager in performing sacrifices and reciting Vedas.

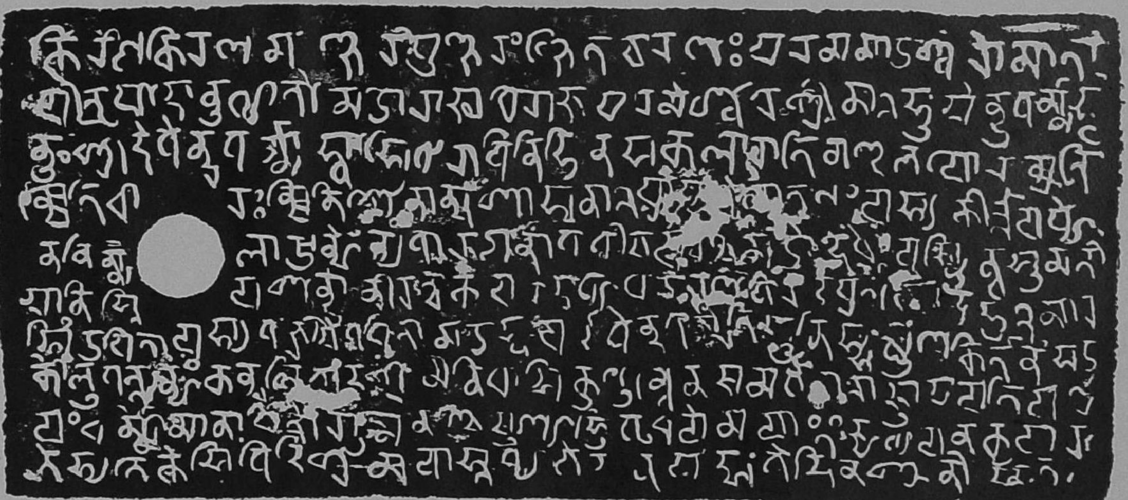
Among the boundaries of the Village granted, we get the following names of the villages:—In the N. E. quarter Sividi, Bhâdi-vâda and Kandalivâda ; in the N and N. W. quarter, Sividi, and in the western region, Nâpitavâda, Kôlampari and Kandalivâda.

The donees seem to be brahmins of Bengal who probably settled in Sividi and got the Royal help. The village of Sipidi or Sividi which was granted probably became Seedi or Cheedi, (present Cheedivalasa) where these plates were discovered. Some of the Kalinga brahmins have got gôtrams and names ending in Bhatta and it is possible that they are the descendants of the ancient donees.

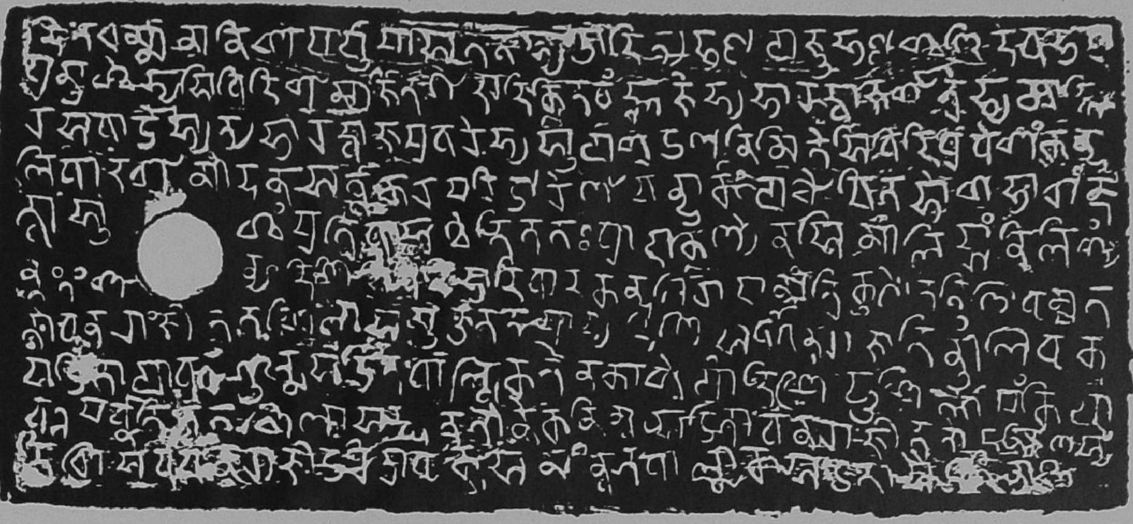
First plate, First side



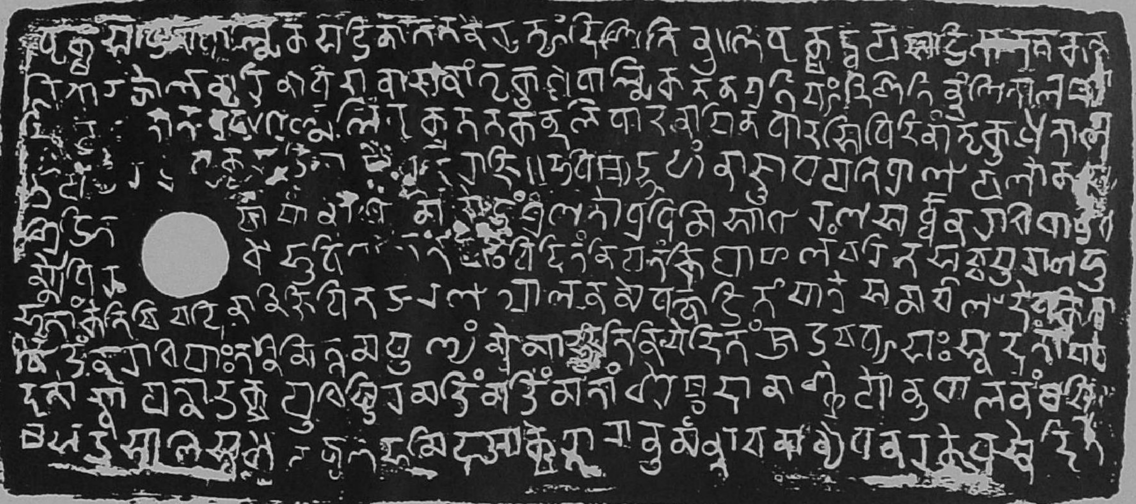
First plate, Second side



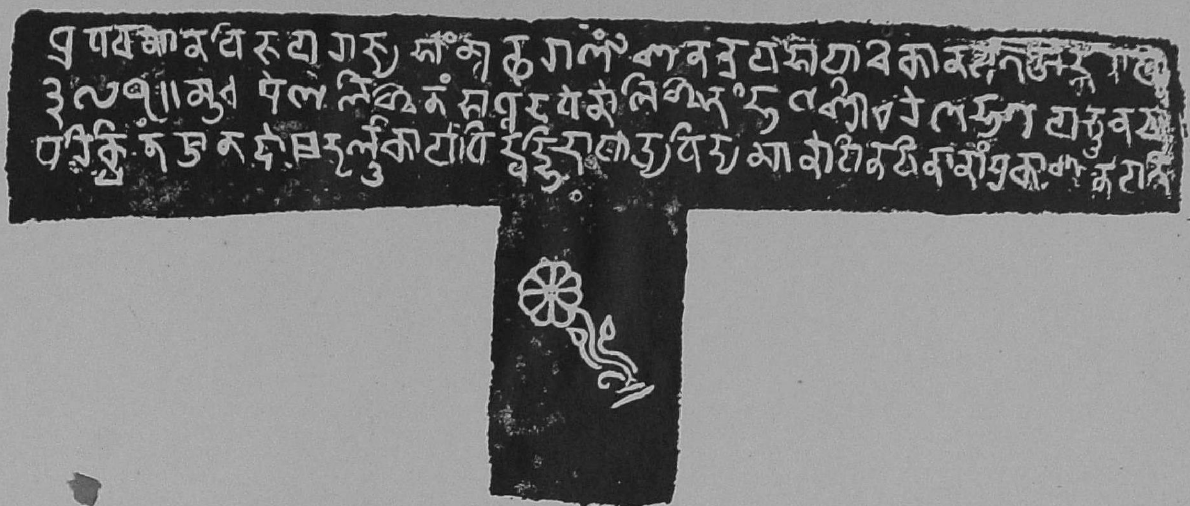
Second plate, First side



Second plate, Second side



Third plate, First side



Third plate, Second side

Seal

TEXT

First Plate, First side.

It contains no letters but the figure of a conch-shell, nearly one inch long, is inscribed on it.

First plate, second side.

1. Om svasti srîmadanêka dêvakulakulâd amarapurânukarinâ [1] kalpânta sankalpitâna–
2. –lpa jana sam[2]râjya môhita mahâmahimnômahitala[3] tilakât kaliñga
3. nagarât prasiddha siddha tâpasâdhyâsita kandarôdara mahêndra girisikhara
4. sêkharasya surâsura gurôs sakala t[1]rubhuvanamahâprasâda nirmânaika
5. sûtradhârasya bhagavatôgôkarnasvâmi(nas ca)ranakamala saṁ
6. bhava salilakshâlita kalikâla kalaṁko gangâmalakula cu(ḍa)[5]
7. –maṇi sphurjaṁ[6] nijabhuja vaja[7] bhrâjita sakalakalimgâdhi râjya maṁdâni
8. –la vêlâkula kallôla jaladhi mêghalâ vanitalâmala yasônêka bhisa[8]
9. –ṇa samara saṁkshôbha janita jayapratâpâvanata samasta sâma(nta)

Second plate first side.

10. kiritta[9] kirana maṇjari puṇja raṇjita caraṇah parama mâhesvaro mâtâ
11. pîtru[10] pâdânudhyâtô mahârâjâdhirâja paramêsvara srîmad bhupêndra[11] varmma su–
12. –nuh srî Dêvêndra varmma svâsidârâ vinibhina[12] sakalârâti manḍala[13]yô rakshiti
13. kshitidhîrah[14] kshitsô[15] nânya sâsanat prâp(ta vela)tata yasya kirtaya[16] phê
14. –na nirmalâ anyônyam vârayantîva vîcayasca mahodadhih yasmin vasumati

1. Read 'kârinah' 2. Read 'sâm' 3. Read 'mahitala' 4. Read 'tribhuvana' 5. Read 'cûḍâ' 6. Read 'sphûrjam' 7. Read 'vajra' 8. Read 'bhîsha' 9. Read 'kirîta' 10. Read 'pitru' 11. Read 'bhûpêndra' 12. Read 'vinirbhinna' 13. Read 'mandalah' 14. Read 'shitim' 15 Read 'kshitîso' 16. Read 'kîrtayah

15. pâti stêya sabdô nirardhaka(h) paradravyâpaharaṇa viraha(h) pratyayâd abhutta Mâra
16. simha pitâ yasya Vajrî caiva pitâmaha svayam Dêvêndra varmêti sutis[1] sadguna kirtanam[2] saha
17. kôluvarttanyâm kandalivâda grâma nivâsi kutumbina[3] samavêtan âjnâpayati yathâ
18. -yam dharmô mâtâ pitrôr atmanas ca punyâbhi vrudhayê[4] mayâ ijyadhyayana kruyârâ[5]
19. tebhyâte[6] kê sipidi grâma vâstavyâ[7] vêda vedânga vêdina .. sruti smṛt(yu)

Second plate, second side.

20. -ditam dharma manisam paryupâsat têbhya[9] âditya bhaṭṭa yajñubhaṭṭa khandidêva bhaṭṭa
21. pramukhêbhya[10] sividi grâmârjita gôjâ dikshita vañgajêbhya[11] bharadvâja gôtrêbhya angi
22. -rasa bârhaspatya bhâradvaja pravarêbhya[12] sûryagrahaṇa nimittê sividi pravêsaṁ[13] kanda
23. -livâda grâmô data[14] sarvakara parihârêṇâ candrârkam yathôcita bhôga bhâgaṁ da
24. ttvâ sukhaṁ prativasathêti tatah prâdâkshinyêna simâ[15] linkhani likhyam[16]
25. -nte isânyadisi sividi bhâdivâdakandalivâḍânaṁ trikuṭê tintrinî vrksha[17] ta
26. -tôta vana râji[18] tatas silâ samudra[19] tata[20] prâcyadisi saiva vanaraji tintrîni[21] vṛksha
27. sahitâ yâvad gulma sahita vâlmika[22] tata agnêyô disi bhusita[23] pamkti yâ
28. vat parvvati tata[24] silâ sangha[25] tatô nêka nimba sahitâ vanarajî tatô dakshiṇasyâm
29. disi saiva vanarajî haridrâ vṛksha samanvita vâlmika sahitâ (saiva) tintrîni[26]

1. Read 'sûtis' 2. Read 'kîrtanam' 3. Read 'kutumbinah' 4. Read 'vṛdhaye' 5. Read 'kriyâra' 6. Read 'têbhyah' 7. Read 'vâstavyah' 8. Read 'vêdinah' 9. Read 'têbhyah' 10. Read 'pramukhêbhyah' 11. Read 'vanga' 12 Read 'pravarêbhyah' 13. Read 'pradêsam' 14. Read 'dattah' 15. Read 'sîmâ' 16. Read 'likhya' 17. Read 'vṛkshah' 18. Read 'râjî' 19. Read 'samudrah' 20. Read 'tatah' 21. Read 'tintriṇi' 22. Read 'vâlmikah' 23. Read 'bhûsilâ pañktih' 24. Read 'tatah' 25. Read 'sañghah' 26. Read 'tintriṇi'

Third plate, first side.

30. vṛksha sahita vâlmîka sahitâ tata(h) nirutyâm disi tintriṇi vṛksha dvaya sahitâ tata kanda

31. -livâḍa khôlampari nâpidâvâdânaṁ[1] trukuṭṭe vâlmîka[2] tata[3] praticyâṁ[4] disi tintrîni tâla pa

32. -nkti (sahita) tata śâlmali vṛksha tata kandalivâda nâpita vâda sipidinâṁ trukuṭṭe[5] tâla

33. -traya (haridra) vṛksha sahitâ saiva vana râji bhavishyad bhupan âjnâpayati prânâya lôkasya

34. grihita[6] câpâṁ nâgâminô ham praṇatô bravîmi sâdhârana[7] sarvvanarâdhipânam dha

35. -rmô virudhô bhuvi(pâlanîyôh) viditam niyatam kriyâ phalam carita(m) sacca purâṇa bhû

36. bhṛtâm katicicdi[8] nâ niji pitaharaṇât pâlanamêvavôhitaṁ pâtrê samarpanâdêvakritâ[9]

37. -rdhô ham narâdhipâh tanimitta[10] ma punyaṁ vi mâbhudîti niveditam âha ca vyâsah svadatam[11] para

38. datamvâ[12] yatnâd raksha yudhisthira maṁiṁ mahiṁ matâṁ srêshṭha dânâscrêyônu[13] pâlanaṁ shashṭhi

39. (var)sha sahasrâṇi svargê tishthati bhumida âkshêptâ câ numantâ ca tânyêva narakê vasêditi

Third plate, second side.

40. Pravardhamâna vijaya râjya samvacharânâm[14] satatraya saptâdhikâ navati ankenâpi

41. 397-muḍhapêṇa likhitam savvadapênô[15] likhitam bhata[16] srî dharêṇa bhata yajnêna câ

42. parikshitam ata[17]dôsha trunnîkâryâ vidvadbhi dôsôdr[18]ya vidya mânâpita catânam prakâsatayati

1. Read 'nâpita' 2. Read 'vâlmikah' 3. Read 'tatah' 4. Read 'pratîcyam. 5. Read 'trikuṭê' 6. Read 'gṛhîta' 7. Read 'sâdhâranah 8. Read 'katicicadi' 9. Read 'krutâ' 10. Read 'tannimitta' 11. Read 'svadattam' 12. Read 'dattam' 13. Read 'dânâchchrê' 14. Read 'samvatsarâṇâm' 15. Read 'savvadapênô' 16. Read 'bhaṭṭa' 17. Read 'atra' 18. Read 'dôshô'.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE CONTENTS

Lines 1-18 :—Om. Hail! from Kalinganagara, which is filled with many temples of great prosperity, which is equal to Amarapura (in glory), whose great power is enchanted by the great sovereignty created at the end of kalpa, which is the jewel of earth, he, who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by waters arising out of washing of the feet of Divine (God) Gokarnasvami, who is the śilpâcârya or the master architect of the three worlds, who is the Guru of the Dêvas and the Asuras, and who is the crest jewel of the summit of the mountain Mahêndragiri, whose caves are the abodes of illustrious Siddhâs and Tâpasas, who is the crowning diamond of the Ganga dynasty, who enjoys 'Kalingadhirajyam' protected by his bright shoulders resembling diamonds, he, whose pure fame has spread over all the earth, surrounded by sea, the coastal waves of which are caused by cool breezes, and he whose feet are brightened by the lustre of diamonds in the crowns of all vassal kings who are subdued by the power arising out of victories in several battles, he, who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, who is a Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêsvara-Sri Dêvêndravarma, son of the illustrious Bhûpêndravarma, whose father is Mârasimha and grandfather Vajri (Indravarma) whose reign has not witnessed a single theft, whose white fame resembling foam and spreading to the coast of the great sea is rivalling the waves, and whose unexampled command rules all the earth, his sword having cut down all enemies,—commands all the assembled cultivators of Kandalivâda village in Kôluvartani vishaya.

Lines 18-23:—Know ye all that this gift is made for the increase of the merit of myself and my parents. This grant of Sividi in Kandalivâda village is made by me on the occasion of solar eclipse to Adityabhatta, Yajubhatta, Sendidevarabhatta and others, who are of Bengal and who observe Gôjadîksha in Sividi village, who are of Bhâradvaja gotra with Āngirasa, Bârhaspatya and Bhâradvâja pravara, who are eager in performing sacrifices and studying Vedas, who are residents of Sividi village, who are well versed in Vedas and Vedangas and who always practise Dharma as described in Śrutis and Smritis.

Lines 23-24 :—Let this gift, which is granted free from all taxes and obstacles, be enjoyed so long as moon and sun endure, with all the usual rights and shares.

Lines 24-33 :—Then follow the boundaries of the village granted viz., Sividi.

Lines 33-37 :—Then follow three verses which request future rulers not to interfere with the gift.

Lines 37-39 :—Then follow the two usual verses of Vyasa.

Line 40:—This grant is made in the augmenting victorious year 397.

Lines 41–42:—Written (composed) by Mudhapa, inscribed by Savvadapa, and examined by Bhatta Sridhara and Bhatta Yaju.

A NOTE OF THE GANGEYA ERA

So far, 18 copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings have been published and with this grant, the list reaches 19. The impressions of one more unpublished copper plate grant of Maharaja Mânanda varma, son of Anantavarma dated in the 100th year of Gageya era Pravardhamâna Vijayarajya Samvachchara Ṡatê have just been received from the Yubraj of Tekkali, Sree L. N. Deb, M. R. A. S., From a critical examination of the several inscriptions, we get the following list (arranged in order of date) of early Ganga kings who ruled over Kalinga:—

1. Hasti-varma of Urlam plates, who granted the village of Urumalla in the 80th year of the Gangeya era.

2. Indravarma (Rajasimha) of Achyutapuram plates and Tekkali plates both dated in the 87th year and of Parlakimidi plates dated in the 91st year of the Gangeya era.

3. Mânandavarma, son of Anantavarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 100th year of the Gangeya era.

4. Indravarma of Kalinga plates (two sets found in Chicacole) dated in the 128th and 136th years respectively.

5. Danarnava's son Indravarma of Purli plates and Tekkali plates dated in the years 137 and 154 respectively.

6. Gunaranava's son, Devendravarma of Chicacole and Siddhantam plates dated in the 183 and 195 years respectively.

7. Devendravarma's son Anantavarma, who in the 204th year of the Gangeya era gave Thalathere to a vedic scholar at the instance of his brother Jayavarma.

8. Anantavarma's son, Devendravarma of Kalinga plates and Vizag plates dated in the 251st and 254th years respectively.

9. Rajendravarma's son, Anantavarma of Alamanda plates dated in the 304th year of the Gangeya era.

10. Rajendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Tekkali plates dated in the 308th year and of Bangalore Museum plates "dated probably 700 A. D." (vide Ep. Carnataka, Bangalore volume).

11. Devendravarma's son, Rajendravarma of 342nd year of the Gangeya era. (vide J. B. O. R. S., vol. 12 page 101)

12. Devendravarma's son, Satyavarma of Chicacole plates dated in the 352nd year of Gangeya era.

13. Bhupendravarma's son, Devendravarma of Cheedivalasa plates dated in 397th year of Gangeya era.

Hence, the following genealogy may be arranged:—

Hastivarma (80th year)

Indravarma (Rajasimha) (87th and 91st years.)

Anantavarma

His son, Manandavarma, (100th year)

Danarnava

His son, Indravarma, (128, 136, 137 and 154th years)

Gunarnava

His son, Devendravarma, (183rd and 195th years)

Jayavarma — Anantavarma (204th year)

His son, Devendravarma (251st and 254)

Rajendravarma

Anantavarma (304th year) — Devendravarma (308th year)

Rajendravarma (342nd year) — Satyavarma (351 yr.)

(Indravarma) Vajri

Narasimha

Bhupendravarma

Devendravarma (397th year)

(All the years belong to Gangêya Era)

E. GANGA CHRONOLOGY

The chronology of the Early Gangas presents insurmountable difficulty. Scholars have suggested already several dates for the beginning of the Gangeya Era. An unknown writer who edited Hastivarma's Urlam plates in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika dated May 1920, stated that Hastivarma of the Urlam plates must be the same as the Hastivarma of Vengi, who was defeated by Samudragupta. He also stated that Hastivarma of Urlam plates lived in 340 A.D. Further, since Hastivarma of Urlam plates has mentioned

80th year of the Gangeya era, he wrote, that date would synchronise with Samudragupta's invasion about 350 A.D. Finally, he concluded by writing that about 270 A.D. (350—80), the Gangeya era was started. But, the writer's arguments are open to serious objection because, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta expressly states that it was Hastivarma of Vengi and not Hastivarma of Kalinganagara that was defeated by him. It must also be remembered that the Hastivarma of Vengi was a Salankayana, while the Hastivarma of the Urlam plates was a Gangâmalakulatilaka. Hence, Hastivarma of Urlam plates cannot be the same as Hastivarma of Vengi and so he cannot be held to be a contemporary of Samudragupta. Thus, the writer's argument that the 80th year of the Gangeya era would be equaivalent to 270 A.D. falls to the ground.

In an article, on the chronology of the Early Ganga kings of Kalinga, published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa research society (Vol. IX) dated 1923 by my friend Mr. G. Ramdas B.A., the theories put forward by Dr. Fleet to settle the epoch of the Gangeya era, (Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI) were closely examined. In editing the Parlakimidi plates of Maharajah Indravarma, Dr. Fleet stated that *the Epoch of the Gangeya era still remained to be determined.* However, while previously publishing the Chicacole grants, Dr. Fleet stated that the clue to the date might perhaps be found in the mention of the eclipse of the moon in Indravarma's grant of the 128th year. Also, he stated that the Indravarma of the grant of 128th year might possibly be identical with the Adhirajendra who otherthrew Indrabhattaraka, a younger brother of the Eastern Chalukyan king Jayasimha I (A.D., 633–666) Mr. Ramadas availed himself of the clues supplied by Dr. Fleet but after a detailed astronomical calculation, stated that the years suggested by Dr. Fleet to determine the beginning of the Kalinga Ganga Era would not stand the test and that Indravarma of 128th year could not be identified with Adhiraja Indra' mentioned in the Godavari Grant of Raja Prithvimula.

Mr. Ramdas stated that, from the use of the phrase "Vijaya râjyasamvatsara" found in all the Ganga grants, the Vijayam or the victory alluded to, signified the independence of Kalinga, from out of the hands of the Pishtapura kings, who formerly ruled over Kalinga but who were defeated by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D. He has also instituted a comparison between the characters of the plates of Early Gangas and those of the plates of Guptas and opined that the initial year of the Kalinga era should be placed between the years 330 and 400 A.D. Further, he has stated thus:—" Since the exploits of Samudragupta belonged to this period and since he defeated Swâmidatta, Kalinga might have passed under his control and then he must have shown mercy by placing one of his followers on the throne of the conquered country, namely. Kalinga".

This follower according to him was a Ganga prince who out of gratitude must have founded the Ganga era. Further he added "Taking the 351st year of Gangeya Era to be the last year of Satyavarma's reign, Kamarnava I (founder of later Gangeyas) seems to have ascended the throne 351 years after the founding of the era.........It is seen that Kamarnava I came to throne in Saka 651. So, the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the Era is Saka 300 or A. D. 378". This falls within Saka 251—301, the dates of Samudraguptas accession and death respectively.

Finally by a series of astronomical calculations, based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in Ganga grants he came to the conclusion that the Saka year 271 or A. D. 349 would be the year when the Gangeya era was initiated.

The above conclusions of my friend do not bear the test of time, owing to the discovery of the Cheedivalasa grant of Devendravarma which is dated in the 397th year of the Gangeya era. If, according to my friend, the Gangeya era was founded in Saka 271, Devendravarma of the present grant would have ruled in the Saka year 668 or A.D., 746 i. e. 17 years after Kamarnava's accession to the throne of later Ganga dynasty according to my friend's calculation. and 23 years according to other calculation.

In other words, the donor of the Cheedivalasa grant and Kamarnava the first, the founder of the later Ganga line would not only be contemporaries, but would also rule from the same place viz. Kalinganagara. This would be hard to accept. Under the circumstances, it must be said that the era could not be founded in 271 Saka as stated by my friend. From a study of the Palaeography, the alphabet of the grants of the early Ganga kings cannot be held to belong to such an early date, as is suggested by the chronology of my friend. Also, the internal evidence of the several grants precludes us from accepting the arguments of Mr. Ramdas that the Eastern Gangas were placed on the throne by the Gupta Emperor, Samudra Gupta. Not only do they fail to tell us the same but they also proclaim that the Early Ganga kings established their power over Kalinga by their own prowess. Further, it must be noted that the Gupta era was not at all recognised but on the other hand the "Augmenting Victorious Gangeya era" was started just like the "Augmenting Victorious Gupta era." If the Gangas had been placed on the Kalinga throne by Samudra Gupta, they would have adopted the Gupta era dating from 319—320 A.D., and they would not have ventured to start an independent era of their own. As would be pointed out in this article, the Eastern Ganga kings started their era only after the decline and fall of the Imperial Guptas in the latter half of the fifth century.

Synchronisms help us in fixing dates. Prithvimula's Godavary plates tell us that Adhirajendra of the N. E. region defeated the Indrabhattaraka of the S. W. region. This Indrabhattaraka is identified with the younger brother of Jayasimha (933—666 A.D.) by Drs. Fleet and Burgess. If this is correct, then Adhiraja–Indra of 87th and 91st years of the Gangeya era would be contemporary of the Eastern Chalukya Indrabhattaraka of 667 A.D. Several Eastern Chalukyan grants mention that he succeded Jayasimha and ruled for a week only. Adhiraja Indra would thus live in or about 667 A.D. It must follow on this hypothesis, that the Devendravarma who made the Cheedivalasa grant would live in the latter half of the 10th century A.D., a position which is inconsistent with the accepted chronology of the later Gangas as given in their grants. Hence, we will have to look for Indrabhattaraka in a different dynasty viz. Vishnukundin which ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

From the Ipur plates (two sets) Ramathirtham plates and Chikkulla plates, we get the following geneology of Vishnukundin kings:—

Mâdhava I (Founder–probably ruled about 400 A.D.)
|
Dêvavarma
|
Mâdhavavarma II (Donor of Ipur plates, 1st set)
|
Gôvindavarma
|
Mâdhavavarma III (Donor of Ipur plates, 2nd set 37th year)
|
Vikramêndravarma I (Born to a Vakataka queen)
|
Indrabhattâraka, or Indravarma (Donor of Ramathirtham plates 27th year Probably ruled from 525 A.D. to 555 A.D.)
|
Vikramêndravarma II (Donor of Chikkulla plates) 10th year.

The Indrabhattaraka or Indravarma of Ramathirtham plates gave a gift of Pêruvataka Village, in Pazhaki vishaya which is also mentioned in the Chipurupalli or Cherupuru copper plate grant of Kubja Vishnuvardhana, founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty (615 A.D.) It is situated in the Vizag Dt. Thus Indra-Bhattaraka may be said to have been defeated by Adhirajendravarma of Kalinga. Prithvimula, son of Prabhakara in his Godavari plates mentions that an alliance was formed by Adhirajendra against Indrabhattaraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of S. W. Region) was struck down by Indra-Adhiraja who was mounted on his own elephant, Supratika (of the N. E. Region). The Ramatirtham plates tell us that Indrabhattâraka

won several victories against the Chaturdantis (Airavatas or elephants of the eastern region.) Evidently, the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Gangas were fighting for the control over South Kalinga.

Before the Eastern Chalukyans established their power over Vengi and Kalinga in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., the Vishnukundins ruled over Vengi and South Kalinga, North Kalinga being under the rule of the Eastern Gangas. These Vishnukundin kings ruled for a little over two centuries. Their grants are written in southern alphabet, closely resembling those of the Pallavas, Salankayanas and the Early Gangas. The language of all their plates is Sanskrit, with Prakrit and a little Telugu mixture. The scribes of the grants seem to be Telugu scholars. From the Ramatirtham plates, we learn that their rule extended first over South Kalinga (modern Vizag) and then spread southwards over Vengi, as proved by the grant made in the Chikkulla plates, from their capital Lenduluru near Ellore. They were the worshippers of Sriparvatesvara, performers of Horse sacrifices and relations of the Vâkatakas, who were related to the Guptas. They seem to be a Northern people who gradually spread to the south along the east coast and ruled over South Kalinga and Vengi in the 5th and 6th centuries, until their dynasty was overthrown by the Eastern Chalukyan Emperor Vishnuvardhana I, who established his strong rule over both Vengi and South Kalinga and ruled between 615 and 633 A. D.

The archaic script of the early grants which resembles that of the Pallava and Salankayana grants, the use of prakrit words and other internal evidences enable us to conclude that the earlier grants (Ipur plates, 1st set) belong to 450 A.D., or thereabouts. While editing the Peda-vegi plates of Nandivarma II in the Society's Journal (Vol. I Pt 21. pp 92–102) I stated on page 95, that Vikramendravarma or his father Madhavavarma defeated the Salankayanas and overthrew their dynasty. It is probable that Madhavavarma who married a Vâkataka princess and obtained the support of the Vâkatakas overthrew the Salankayanas of Vengi and set up Visnukundin rule over that region also, about 475 A. D. His claim to the performance of horse sacrifices can thus be understood. It is equally probable that this southern advance was found necessary owing to the increased power of the Eastern Gangas in the north. It is significant that they changed their capital from Puranisangam—probably in Vizag Dt., to Lenduluru, modern Dendulur near Ellore.

Now, taking 400 A.D., as the closing date of the founder Madhavavarma I and granting an average of 25 years as the period of rule for every succeeding king, we get 525 A.D., as the date for the accession of Indrabhattaraka the donor of Ramatirtham plates. It must be during this king's reign, as noted already, that the Eastern Ganga king, Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajrsimha of Kalinganagara

of the 87th and 91st year of the Gangeya era formed a powerful alliance of the neighbouring princes and defeated Indrabhattaraka and wrested South Kalinga from out of his hands. I cannot agree with my friend Mr. G. J. Dubreuil who holds (vide his Ancient History of Dekkan) that the victory lay with the Vishnukundin king for the following two reasons:—

1. It is against the express statement made in the grant of Prithvimula.

2. It is not in consonance with the increasingly victorious rule of the E. Gangas as proved by their grant.

The Adhirajendra or Indravarma Rajasimha of the years 87 and 91 of the Gangeya era is not the same in my opinion as the Indravarma of Chicacole grants of 128 and 146 years. According to the former grants, the king acquired authority "Adhiraj" over the whole of Kalinga by the power of his sword. He calls himself 'the est-blisher of the spotless family of the Gangas.' He hears the title 'Rajasimha' which is not borne by the Indra of 128 and 149 years. Probably, the latter Indra was the grandson of the former.

This Indravarma, of the Parlakimidi plates, of the 91st year of the augmenting victorious Gangeya era, judged from the internal evidence of his own grants and from the external evidence of Prithvimula's charter should be considered as the contemporary of Indrabhattaraka Vishnukundin who, as noted above, succeded to the throne about 525 A. D., and ruled for about 30 years i. e., till 555 A. D. This period therefore roughly corresponds to the reign of Indravarma I and it follows that the Gangeya era of the 91st year was started during the middle of the 5th century, i. e., in 450 or 460 A. D.

The Pedavêgi copper plates of Nandivarma II (Vide facsimile of plates in this Journal Vol. I, Pt. 2, facing page, 94) which probably belong to the middle of the 5th century A. D., were written in the early Vengi lipi, while the Urlam plates of Hastivarma (vide facsimile in Andhra Patrika Ugadi Sanchika May 1920 or in Epigraphia Indica vol. XII) are clearly later in time, though they too are written in the Vengi Lipi. The characters of the Urlam plates are more rounded, showing that they are of a later period. From a consideration of the palaeography, about a century must have elapsed for admitting this change in the lipi. The Urlam plates belong, on Palaeographical grounds, to about the middle of the 6th century A. D., Drs. Burnell and Fleet and other learned scholars state that the lipi of the several inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana I (615–633 A. D.) resembles closely the lipi of the grants of Indravarma II and Devendravarma of the 183 year of the Gangeya era. This would also support the theory that the era commenced about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

Dr. Burgess, in his volume on Tamil and Sanscrit inscriptions states that the Indravarma of 128th year of the Gangeya era may

possibly be identified with the Adhirâjendra mentioned in the Godaveri grant of Raja Prithvimula and thinks that he killed the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka, the younger brother of Jayasimha who according to him, ruled from Saka 549–582. "This is the period about which the present grant (of Indravarma of the 128th year) and the next two grants (of Indravarma of 146 year and Devendravarma of 251st year) on Palaeographic grounds should be referred." He also states that, on historical as well as on Palaeographical grounds, Indravarma of 136th year should be referred to about Saka 579–582 i.e., A. D. 657–660 and Anantavarma's son Devendravarma of 251st year, to Saka 696 or 774 A. D. "This is the latest period to which, on Palaeographical grounds, Devendra's grants should be referred". From this, it would follow that the Gangeya era started about 520 A.D. But his identification of Indravarma of the 128th year with the Eastern Chalukyan Indrabhattaraka is not acceptable for the reasons stated already and especially in view of the fact that the Vishnukundins who ruled over the country before their time are stated in their charters to have fought with Chaturdantas or elephnats of Indra (of the N. E. Region). I think it was only the Vishnukundin Indravarman that was referred to in the plates of Prithvi–mula. On this basis, Adhirajendra or Indravarma I has already been stated to be the contemporary of Vishnukundin Indravarma and to belong to the middle of the 6th century A. D. The Gangeya era therefore must have begun about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

According to the tradition of the Eastern Gangas, as recorded in their copper plate inscriptions, the first king and founder of the dynasty, came to the throne by defeating Baladitya (Samara sirasi sa–Baladityan nirjitya).[1] There is a Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, who built a Buddhist temple at Nalanda and who succeded Pura Gupta in 467 A. D. "*The Gupta empire perished in that year 467 A.D., though latter Guptas continued to rule over Magadha along* with another dynasty of Rajahs who had names ending in Varman and belonged to Maukhari.[2] About 525 A. D., Yasodarma, a Rajah of Central India defeated Mihirâgula and became master of N. India from Brahmaputra to the Western ocean and from Himalaya to Mount Mahendra[3]. From the above references, it is clear that the Gupta empire fell during the middle of 5th century owing to repeated Hun attacks. The Maukhari varmas and the Eastern Ganga varmas therefore rose to power and started independant eras in the latter half of the 5th century. Taking all these things into consideration, it may be said that the Gangeya era started about the middle of the 5th century A. D.

1. Korni plates J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, Pt. 3, P. 108.
2. V. A. Smith's Early History of India IVth Edition, P. 330.
3. Ibid Page 339.

The seal of the Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta (Edited by Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III, p 222) resembles very closely that of the Cheedivalasa plates. The figures carved in relief on both seals present close resemblance. The inscription is said to begin similarly to the grants of the Eastern Ganga Maharajas, Devendravarma and Satyavarma; and it bears a closer comparison to the present grant. The palaka or the headman of the village which was granted was one Ugrakhediraja of the Kadamba family. We know that several early Ganga grants were made at the instance of the Khedi Kadambas who seem to be the relations of the Gangas. The Kadambas who were employed as Grâmapâlakas or royal officers or writers are found from the inscriptions of both the early and later Gangas to be closely related to them. From the western Ganga inscriptions and also from the Kadamba inscriptions, we learn that the Kadambas were related by marriage alliances to them. These Kadambas, as we learn from their inscriptions, meditated on Kârtikeya, son of Siva. They were lords of Banavâsi or Vaijayanti and were of Mânavya Gôtra and Hârîtiputra. They performed horse sacrifices. They married their girls to Guptas, Gângas and Râttas. Their family god was Jayanti Madhukeswara of Banavâsi and they claim to have brought brahmins from Jajpur and granted them gifts of villages. These Kadambas who were thus related to the W. Gangas in the south and to the E. Gangas (of both early and later age) in the north, give us an important clue in believing that the later and early Gangas of Kalinga must be one and the same and they were all related to the main branch of Gangas of Mysore who went to the South from the Gangetic valley. Their family name, their titles as seen from their inscriptions, their god, capital and gifts of villages which are identically same show clearly that the early and later Gangas belong to one and the same dynasty which ruled continuously over Kalinga from the middle of the 5th century to the middle of the 15th century.

It would appear from Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription that Swamidatta was the king of Pishtapur and Mahendragiri Kothur in Kalinga during the middle of the 4th century A.D. From Ragolu plates (vide Ep. Ind. Vol. XII P. 1.) of Saktivarma, we learn that that king had his capital at Pishtapura and ruled over Kalinga vishaya and granted the village of Râkaluva (Modern Ragole, 4 miles distant from chicacole) in it, in his 13th regnal year, to the brahmin Kumaraswâmin. The grant was written by his minister Arjunadatta. The alphabet of this grant is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Salankayana grants and the Brihatproshta grant of Umavarma who granted Brihatproshta to the brahmin scholar Haridatta in his 30th regnal year. The alphabet and phraseology of all these grants closely resemble those of the Komarti plates of Maharajah Chandravarma who granted the village of

Kohetura from his capital Simhapura in the 6th year of his reign and also those of Nanda Prabhanjana Varma who granted, from his residence at Sarapalli, the village of Dayavata for the benefit of a brahmin named Harischandra Swami. The text resembles the Salankayana and Pallava grants of 4th and 5th century A.D. The grant is not dated but on paleographical grounds, it can be referred to the middle of 5th century A. D. From the epithets "Sakala Kalingâdhipati" and "Maharaja" used by the above mentioned kings, we have to learn that they ruled independently over Kalinga. From the similarity of titles used by the kings, we have to learn that they all belonged to the same dynasty but unfortunately its name is not given. We might call them Kalinga kings (not Gangas) and arrange the following geneology and chronology from the internal evidence supplied by their grants:—

Swamidatta (340 A. D. Capital Pittapur)
|
Saktivarma (375 A. D. Do.)
|
Umavarma (400 A. D. Capital Simhapura)
|
Chandavarma (425 A. D. Do.)
|
Nanda Prabhanjanavarma (450 A.D. Capital Sarepalli)

There are two sets of Eastern Ganga inscriptions of Anantavarma Choda Ganga which give two different geneologies. In Indian Antiquary Vol. 18, Dr. Fleet published 3 grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003, S. 1040 and S. 1057. The geneologies given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agree with those given in all the grants of Vajrahasta. The grants of Anantavarma Choda Ganga, dated S. 1034 and S. 1040, however trace the geneology from the pre-historic age to Kamarnava I, who is said to be the founder and name some more kings till Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. Mr. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, while editing the Nadagam plates of Vajrahasta (S. 979) in Epigraphia Indica Vol. 4 stated thus:—The geneology given in the grants of Anantavarma dated S. 1003 and S. 1057 agrees with that of the present grant. The grant of S. 1040 traces from myth to Kamarnava, who is said to be the founder. But in the other grants we do not get him and six more kings until we come to the 7th king, Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava. There are several discrepancies in the grant of Saka 1040 that make it suspicious. It does not mention Vajrahasta I. It makes Vajrahasta III, the son of Madhukamarnava, while the present grant makes him the son of Kamarnava and grandson of Vajrahasta."

The geneology and chronology given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma Choda Ganga himself are really trustworthy. Hence, Gunarnava or Guna-maharnava would have ended his rule by 894 A.D., according to the dates

given in all the plates of Vajrahasta and in some of Anantavarma. To the period proceding 894 A. D., therefore, belong Gunarnava and the early Gangas, who have mentioned an era of their own, which has been stated to have begun in the middle of the 5th century. There is a Gunarnava, father of Devendravarma who is dated in 183–195 Gangeya era. It is probable that Gunarnava or Gunamaharnava, whose rule would have ended in 894 A. D., might have succeded Devendravarma, the donor of Cheedivalasa plates, though not immediately. From the above account, we get the geneology and chronology of the Eastern Gangas as follows:—

(Maharaja) Hastivarma (probably 530 A. D.)
|
(Maharaja) Rajasimha Indravarma or Adhiraja Indra
(537, 541 A. D.)

Anantavarma
|
Son (Maharaja) Mânandavarma (550 A. D.)

Danarnava
|
Son (Maharaja) Indravarma (578, 604 A. D.)

Gunarnava
|
Son (Maharaja) Devendravarma (633, 645 A. D.)
|
Sons, Jayavarma and (Maharaja) Anantavarma (654 A.D.)
|
(Maharaja) Devendravarma (701, 704 A.D.)
|
(Maharajadhiraja Parameswara) Rajendravarma
|
Sons, Anantavarma (754 A.D.) and (Maharaja) Devendravarma
(758 A.D.)
|
Sons, Rajendravarma (792 A.D.) and (Maharaja) Satyavarma
(801 A. D.)

Vajri (Indravarma)
|
Son, Marasimha
|
Son(Maharajadhiraja
Paramesvara) Bhupendravarma
|
Son, Devendravarma (847 A.D.)

Gunarnava or, Gunamaharnava (His rule ended in 894–895 A.D.)

Son, Vajrahasta (895–939 A. D.)

Gundama (939–942) | Kamarnava (942–977) | Vinayaditya (977–980)

Vajrahasta II (980–1015)

Kamarnava (1015) | Gundama (1016–1019) | Madhukamarnava (1019–1038)

Vajrahasta III (Anantavarma) (accession 1038 A.D.)

Raja Raja (Devendravarma)

Anantavarma Choda Ganga (accession 1077 A.D.)

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Proceedings of the General Body Meeting held at the end of the first quarter on 27-8-1927 with Mr. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu Vice-president in the chair.

Present:

Messrs.
1. G. G. Somayajulu.
2. R. Subbarao.
3. B. V. Krishnarao.
4. N. Kamesvararao.
5. C. Brahmanandamurthi.
6. S. Nagabhushanam.
7. V. Jagannadharao.
8. P. Rajagopalachari.
9. N. V. Yoganandarao.
10. A. Ramarao.
11. B. Sivaramasarma.
12. P. Mallikharjunarao.
13. A. Sankararao.
14. D. Sambasivarao.
15. Y. Parameswararao.
16. Ch. Veerabhadrarao.
17. C. Suryanarayana.
18. D. C. Kameswararao.
19. V. Apparao.
20. N. K. Venkatesan.
21. S. Bhimasankararao.

Resolutions.

1. Resolved unanimously that the following gentlemen be elected as the patrons of the society.

   The Rajah Saheb of Kallikota.
   The Rajah Saheb of Chikati.

2. Resolved that the present rule as to the quorum of the General Body meeting be retained as it is, but that there need not be any quorum for an adjourned meeting.

3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as Hon. Presidents of the society.

   Rao Bahadur Sir B. N. Sarma, K. C. S. I.
   Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B. A.

4. Resolved that the society shall have, besides the persons mentioned in Rule 4, "10. Hon. Correspondents. 11. Librarian."

N. B.—These words may be inserted between 9 and 10 and the remaining items may be renumbered.

Add in Rule 15 the words "Hon. Correspondents" after "Hon. Vice Presidents."

5. Resolved to insert after Rule 19 the following:—

Librarian.

The Librarian shall be elected at the annual General Body meeting and shall hold office for one year. He shall be in charge of the Library in accordance with the rules framed by the Council for the governance of the Library.

6. The proposal of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao to delete the word "Historical" from the name of the society is defeated by a majority of one vote (8 to 7).

(Sd) G. G. Somayajulu.

Proceedings of the managing council meeting held on 18–10–1927.

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8. Resolved to discontinue publishing the proceedings of the managing council meetings in the Journal from 31–7–27.

List of members who paid their subscriptions during the Quarter ending with 30-9-27.

Messrs.	Hirananda Sastri (26-27) ...	Rs.	3-0-0
	P. H. Ananta Narayana Iyer ...		3-0-0
	Rallabandi Subba Rao		4-0-0
	A. Rama Rao		4-0-0
	N. Kameswara Rao		4-0-0
	N. Subba Rao Pantulu		4-0-0
	C. Venkatachalam Pantulu ...		4-0-0
	A. F. A. Neudœrffer		4-0-0
	Vepa Purinah		4-0-0
	P. Bhadrayya (26-27)		2-0-0
	N. Venkataramiah		4-0-0
	K. Seetarama Rao		2-0-0
	V. Bapiraju (26-27)		1-0-0
	Yuvaraja of Tekkali		3-2-0
	P. Rajagopalachari (26-28) ...		7-0-0
	Nilakanta Das (26-27)		3-0-0
	N. K. Venkatesan (26-27)		2-0-0
	" (27-28)		1-0-0
	V. Jaganadha Rao		2-0-0
	M. K. Srinivasa Raghavachari ...		2-0-0
	C. Suryanarayana		4-0-0
Mrs.	Y. V. Ranganayakamma		4-0-0
Messrs.	K. R. Subrahmanyam		3-0-0
	Y. Ramamurti (26-27)		3-0-0
	Second Prince of Tekkali		3-0-0
	G. G. Somayazulu		4-0-0
	J. Ganganna		4-0-0
	S. Nagabhushanam		1-0-0
	R. S. Ramachandra Rao (26-28) ...		6-0-0
			95-2-0

List of Subscribers to the Journal who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 30-9-27

Musie Guimet Paris	Rs.	3-0-0
University Library, Madras		6-0-0
	Rs.	9-0-0
Grand total for the Quarter,	Rs.	104-2-0

N. Kameswara Rao,
Treasurer.

विरसापि कृतिः प्रपत्स्यते
मधुनिष्यन्दमयं दशान्तरम् ।
यदि नाम सतामनुग्रहः
शिशिरः प्राप्य रवेरिवातपम् ॥ ४॥

(विलोक्य ससम्भ्रमम्)

तपसेव विभक्तविग्रहं
किमिदं धाम गृहीतवल्कलम् ।
पुनरुक्तमिवोपलक्ष्यते
वटुवेषग्रहणं विभावसोः ॥ ५ ॥

हन्त! विज्ञातम्, अस्मत्पक्षपातात् स्वयमेव पारिपार्श्वको मुनिशिष्यभूमिकामादाय इत एवाभिवर्तते। तदहमप्यनन्तरोचितेषु करणीयेषु व्याप्रिये। (निष्क्रान्तः)

स्थापना।

(ततः प्रविशति मुनिशिष्यः)

मु—अहो तु खलु कुलपतेराश्रमपदस्य महती सम्भावना। यतस्तदा विद्याविनीते गुरुजनानुज्ञाते समं सवयोभिः स्वकुलोचिते कर्मण्यधिकर्तुं प्रस्थिते कुमारे—

पुष्पं बाष्पजलोपमं क्षितितले मुक्तं मुहुः पादपै-
र्यावद्दृष्टिपथं तपोवनमृगैरुद्ग्रीवमुद्वीक्षितम् ।
चिन्ताशून्यधियो निमीलितदृशः सास्राः क्षणं तापसाः
शङ्के शोककलङ्किताः कुलपतेः कण्ठे गिरः कुण्ठिताः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ वा सर्वमिदं कुमारमुद्दिश्येति नात्र विस्मयनीयं पश्यामि। कुतः—

श्रीवृक्षाङ्कमुरःस्थलं हरवृषप्रस्थानखेलं गतं
पादावङ्कुशकेतुलाञ्छिततलावाजानुलम्बौ भुजौ ।
प्राप्तं चारु मुखं ललामरचनामुन्मेषिणीमूर्णया
पर्याप्तं गुणसम्पदां नृपसुतः सङ्केतगोष्ठीगृहम् ॥ ७ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अये! अयं काश्यपायनः । (आकाशे) किमाह भवान्—कौत्स, कुतो भवानागच्छति—इति? कुलपतिनिदेशादभितश्चण्डिकायतनं पम्पासरः-समीपवर्तिनि कुलक्रमागतस्य सख्युः कुञ्जरकस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याधकिष्किन्धनाम्नि दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया प्रच्छन्नोषितं कुमारं कल्याणवर्माणं सुखमहर्विहारं पृष्ट्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि । किमाह भवान्—कथमितः प्रथिततरमेव वैरिवर्गाधि-ष्ठितराज्यप्रत्यानयनोपायाचिन्तकः पाटलिपुत्रं गतो नाद्यापि प्रतापावसरमापा-दितवान् मन्त्रगुप्तः—इति? ननु प्रमादभीरुत्वाद्विवेकिनां कालक्षेपवत्यः कार्य-सिद्धयः । किमाह भवान्—कथं च कुलपतिरेव जाबालिस्तपःप्रभावेन तां सिद्धिं नाभ्यर्थितः कुमारेण—इति? पराक्रमोपनतामेव सिद्धिमभिकाङ्क्षते क्षात्रं तेजः । किं ब्रवीषि—एवमेतत्, गच्छतु भवान्, अहमपि समित्कुशकुसुमा-न्युपहरामि—इति? साधयतु भवान्, अहमपि कुलपतिं द्रक्ष्यामि ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः)

विष्कम्भकः

(ततः प्रविशति कुमारः)

कुमा—येषामाख्या सहायान् गणयति गणनां नैकयाप्यङ्गुलीनां
तेषां तोयप्रदानं परिहरति रणस्वर्गिणां पूर्वजानाम् ।
तेषां सुसेव कीर्तिः प्रतिवसति यथा स्वेगृहे सालभञ्जी
येषां शेषामिवाज्ञां शिरसि नृपतयः श्रद्दधाना वहन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

तावदस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपविशामि यावत् कुञ्जरकसकाशात् प्रतिनिवर्तते वयस्यवैखानसः । (तथा कृत्वा) अहो प्रवालशीतलेयं तरुतल-च्छाया ।

सम्प्रत्यहं भृङ्गकुलानुयातै-
र्गृहीतगन्धद्विपदानगन्धैः ।
विन्ध्यानिलैः शैशवमुक्तमुक्तं
प्रबोधितः पाटलिपुत्रवासम् ॥ ९ ॥

विरसापि कृतिः प्रपत्स्यते
मधुनिष्यन्दमयं दशान्तरम् ।
यदि नाम सतामनुग्रहः
शिशिरः प्राप्य रवेरिवातपम् ॥ ४॥

(विलोक्य ससम्भ्रमम्)

तपसेव विभक्तविग्रहं
किमिदं धाम गृहीतवल्कलम् ।
पुनरुक्तमिवोपलक्ष्यते
वटुवेषग्रहणं विभावसोः ॥ ५ ॥

हन्त ! विज्ञातम्, अस्मत्पक्षपातात् स्वयमेव पारिपार्श्वको मुनिशिष्यभूमिकामादाय इत एवाभिवर्तते। तदहमप्यनन्तरोचितेषु करणीयेषु व्याप्रिये । (निष्क्रान्तः)

स्थापना ।

(ततः प्रविशति मुनिशिष्यः)

मु—अहो नु खलु कुलपतेराश्रमपदस्य महती सम्भावना । यतस्तदा विद्याविनीते गुरुजनानुज्ञाते समं सवयोभिः स्वकुलोचिते कर्मण्यधिकर्तुं प्रस्थिते कुमारे—

पुष्पं बाष्पजलोपमं क्षितितले मुक्तं मुहुः पादपै-
र्यावद्दृष्टिपथं तपोवनमृगैरुद्ग्रीवमुद्वीक्षितम् ।
चिन्ताशून्यधियो निमीलितदृशः सास्राः क्षणं तापसाः
शङ्के शोककलङ्किताः कुलपतेः कण्ठे गिरः कुण्ठिताः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ वा सर्वमिदं कुमारमुद्दिश्येति नात्र विस्मयनीयं पश्यामि । कुतः—

श्रीवृक्षाङ्कमुरःस्थलं हरवृषप्रस्थानखेलं गतं
पादावङ्कुशकेतुलाञ्छिततलावाजानुलम्बौ भुजौ ।
प्राप्तं चारु मुखं ललामरचनामुन्मेषिणीमूर्णया
पर्याप्तं गुणसम्पदां नृपसुतः सङ्केतगोष्ठीगृहम् ॥ ७ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) अये! अयं काश्यपायनः । (आकाशे) किमाह भवान्—कौत्स, कुतो भवानागच्छति—इति? कुलपतिनिदेशादभितश्चण्डिकायतनं पम्पासरः-समीपवर्तिनि कुलक्रमागतस्य सख्युः कुञ्जरकस्य परिग्रहभूते व्याधकिष्किन्धनाम्नि दुर्गस्थाने प्रतापावसरप्रतीक्षया प्रच्छन्नोषितं कुमारं कल्याणवर्माणं सुखमहर्विहारं पृष्ट्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि । किमाह भवान्—कथमितः प्रथिततरमेव वैरिवर्गाधिष्ठितराज्यप्रत्यानयनोपायचिन्तकः पाटलिपुत्रं गतो नाद्यापि प्रतापावसरमापादितवान् मन्त्रगुप्तः—इति? ननु प्रमादभीरुत्वाद्विवेकिनां कालक्षेपवत्यः कार्यसिद्धयः । किमाह भवान्—कथं च कुलपतिरेव जाबालिस्तपःप्रभावेन तां सिद्धिं नाभ्यर्थितः कुमारेण—इति? पराक्रमोपनतामेव सिद्धिमभिकाङ्क्षते क्षात्रं तेजः । किं ब्रवीषि—एवमेतत्, गच्छतु भवान्, अहमपि समित्कुशकुसुमान्युपहरामि—इति? साधयतु भवान्, अहमपि कुलपतिं द्रक्ष्यामि ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः)

विष्कम्भकः

(ततः प्रविशति कुमारः)

कुमा—येषामाख्या सहायान् गणयति गणनां नैकयाप्यङ्गुलीनां
तेषां तोयप्रदानं परिहरति रणस्वर्गिणां पूर्वजानाम् ।
तेषां सुप्तेव कीर्तिः प्रतिवसति यथा स्वेगृहे सालभञ्जी
येषां शेषामिवाज्ञां शिरसि नृपतयः श्रद्दधाना वहन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

तावदस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपविशामि यावत् कुञ्जरकसकाशात् प्रतिनिवर्तते वयस्यवैखानसः । (तथा कृत्वा) अहो प्रवालशीतलेयं तरुतलच्छाया ।

सम्प्रत्यहं भृङ्गकुलानुयातै-
र्गृहीतगन्धाद्विपदानगन्धैः ।
विन्ध्यानिलैः शैशवभुक्तमुक्तं
प्रबोधितः पाटलिपुत्रवासम् ॥ ९ ॥

(निःश्वस्य) तामेव शैशवकथामनुस्मरामि । तदा हि—

सन्नद्धः कवची शरासनधरस्तातो रुषा प्रोषितो
जाता धौतकपोलपत्त्रलतिका बाष्पाम्बुभिर्मातरः ।
एकाकी चलकाकपक्षविभवो नीतोऽस्म्यहं तापसै-
र्मिथ्येव प्रतिभाति शैशवकथा स्वप्नो नु माया नु मे ॥ १० ॥

अथ वा कृतमनया कातरजनोचितया निपातोदन्तचिन्तया । तेजस्विनो हि पुरुषस्य सम्पदुद्योतनप्रतिपक्षभूता विपदपि न च्छायेव परिहरति पार्श्वम्, न पुनरुदाराः परिहीयन्ते । कुतः—

ध्वस्तः सुन्दरपाटलो निपतितः कात्यायनः शङ्कितः
प्राप्तं भैरवमन्धकारगहनं प्रद्योतकारागृहम् ।
तेजोराशिरवाप्तवानुदयनस्तैस्तैरुपायक्रमैः
कौशाम्बीं च सुयामुनं च विजयी भूयोऽपि वत्सेश्वरः ॥ ११ ॥

भोः पाटलिपुत्रगतमन्त्रगुप्तदूतप्रतिप्रेषणावधिकमपि काललेशमत्रैव तिष्ठन्नप्रतिप्रसरवन्ध्यममर्षं धारयितुं न शक्नोमि । (निमित्तं सूचयित्वा) किं नु खलु स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः !

स्वजने शोकसन्तप्ते प्राप्तैश्वर्येष्वरातिषु ।
नाद्यापि धनुरादत्ते बाहुर्वामेतरो मम ॥ १२ ॥

(शब्दं रूपयित्वा) को नु खल्वेष कमलमधुपानमत्तकलहंसनिर्भरो निनादः श्रूयते? अथ वा नेदं कलहंसविरुतम् । कुतः—

काञ्चीकलरवोन्मिश्रं पादक्रमविलम्बितम् ।
मञ्जुवाचामिदं मन्ये मञ्जु मञ्जीरशिञ्जितम् ॥ १३ ॥

भवतु, शब्दानुसारेण चक्षुर्विक्षिपामि । (तथा कृत्वा) अये! पल्लवितमिव जीवलोकं पश्यामि । का नु खल्वेषा परिमितपरिवारा तारागणपरिवृता शशाङ्कलेखेव लक्ष्यते कुमारी ?

वामोरूमूरुजातां विदुरुरुजघनामुर्वशीं विश्वयोनेः
सीतां सीताप्रसूतिं श्रियमपि मथितादम्बुराशेरुशन्ति ।

न त्वस्या जन्म जाने जननयनमधुस्यन्दिनी कान्तिलक्ष्मी-
र्मध्येवेदि प्रसूतां द्रुपददुहितरं वेदिमध्यां वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति ससखीगणा कीर्तिमती काञ्चुकीयश्च)

का— इत इतो भवती ।

की— हला णिउणिए, किं णु खु पसण्णं विअ मे हिअअं ?
(हला निपुणिके, किं नु खलु प्रसन्नमिव मे हृदयम् ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, भअवदीए भत्तजणाणुकंपिणीए पादवंदणं करिअ णिग्गदासि, कीस ण पसण्णं होइ दे हिअअं ?

(भर्तृदारिके, भगवत्या भक्तजनानुकम्पिन्याः पादवन्दनं कृत्वा निर्गतासि, कथं न प्रसन्नं भवति ते हृदयम् ?)

की— जुत्तं तुए भणिदं, सोढव्ववेदणं दाणिं मे तादस्स अंबाए अ विओअदुक्खं भअवदीदंसणेण ।

(युक्तं त्वया भणितम्, सोढव्यवेदनमिदानीं मे तातस्याम्बायाश्च वियोगदुःखं भगवतीदर्शनेन).

नि— अइरादो पसादं वि दंसइस्सदि भअवदी ।
(अचिरात् प्रसादमपि दर्शयिष्यति भगवती).

कु— सर्वथा मकरकेतुमन्तरेण नास्याः समुत्पत्तिं पश्यामि । तथा हि—

सर्गान्तराणि सकलान्यतिवर्तमान-
मस्या वपुर्न खलु शिल्पफलं विधातुः ।
शङ्के वृषाङ्कविजयाय मनोभवेन
तप्तस्य सोऽयमनघस्तपसो विपाकः ॥ १५ ॥

की— कोकिलकंठराअकोमलगीदिसद्दो चडुलपदाआणिवहो कंचणणिंमिदो किं एस पासादो ? (कोकिलकण्ठरागकोमलगीतिशब्दः चटुलपताकानिवहः काञ्चननिर्मितः किमेष प्रासादः ?)

नि— भट्टिदारिए, णत्थि एत्थ पासादो, एसो खु कुसुमंजरीपुंजपिंजरिअसाहासहस्सो मंदपवणंदोलिअपल्लवपुडो महुअरमहुरुल्लावमणोहरो असोअरुक्खो ।

पुविणा पच्चादिट्ठा दाणिं पमअवणपावपाणं समिद्धी । (भर्तृदारिके, नास्त्यत्र प्रासादः, एष खलु कुसुममञ्जरीपुञ्जपिञ्जरितशाखासहस्रो मन्दपवनान्दोलित-पल्लवपुटो मधुकरमधुरोल्लापमनोहरोऽशोकवृक्षः । एतेन प्रत्यादिष्टो इदानीं प्रमदवनपादपानां समृद्धिः).

की— हंजे, अत्थि किं इमस्स सुहसीदलं तलच्छाआमण्डलं ?
(हञ्जे, अस्ति किमेतस्य सुखशीतलं तलच्छायामण्डलम् ?

नि— को एत्थ संदेहो ? (कोऽत्र सन्देहः ?)

की— कहं तुवं दूरगदा जाणिस्ससि ? (कथं त्वं दूरगता जानासि ?)

नि— आकिदिप्पच्चएण भणामि । जइ अत्थि तदो किं ?
(आकृतिप्रत्ययेन भणामि । यद्यस्ति ततः किम् ?)

की— उंमत्तिए, परिस्संतो जणो विस्समं लभेदि ।
(उन्मत्ते, परिश्रान्तो जनो विश्रमं लभते).

नि— अंअ, परिस्संता भट्टिदारिआ । (आर्य, परिश्रान्ता भर्तृदारिका).

का— भोः परिश्रान्ता सिद्धायतनेषु वाहनारोहणातिक्रमः परिहरणीय इति पादचार-प्रवृत्ता भर्तृदुहिता । देवि, मुहूर्तमस्य तपनीयाशोकतरोरधश्छायायामुपविशामः, स्वयमेवोपकल्पितमावासस्थानमन्तःपुराधिकृतः सिंहलको निवेदयिष्यति ।

(सर्वे परिक्रामन्ति)

कु — संप्रति चरितार्थं चक्षुः—

पादौ पल्लवकोमलौ करिकरश्रीचोरमूरुद्वयं
विस्तीर्णं जघनस्थलं तनुतरो मध्यः स्तनावुन्नतौ ।
बाहू चम्पकपुष्पदामरुचिरौ पूर्णेन्दुकल्पं मुखं
केशाः कुञ्चितमेचकाः नववधूरेषा वधूलक्षणम् ॥ १६ ॥

(सर्वे कुमारं दृष्ट्वा संभ्रान्ताः)

का— महदिदमाकारबद्धं तेजः, यदस्य दर्शने बहुदिवसाधिष्ठितराजान्तःपुरस्यापि तत्पूर्वोपनतराजदर्शनस्येव शिथिलीभूतः सत्त्वावष्टम्भः । कोऽसाविति जिज्ञासमानोऽपि नैनमनुपोद्धातः प्रष्टुमुत्सहे । सर्वथा तावत्—

कर्णान्तविश्रान्तविलोचनश्री-
ज्याघातरेखारचितप्रकोष्ठः ।
तेजोनिधिर्नूनमसौ कुमारः
कुलस्य सारोद्धरणं नृपाणाम् ॥ १७ ॥

कु -- स्वागतमत्रभवतः, अत्र पूर्वोपविष्टा वयम्, तदिहास्यतां भवतीभिः ।

विन्ध्याद्रिगन्धगजदानसुगन्धयोऽमी
पम्पासरःसलिलवीचिविमर्दशीताः ।
श्रोणीपयोधरसमुद्वहनप्रवृत्तं
मार्गश्रमं व्यपनयन्तु वनान्तवाताः ॥ १८ ॥

(सर्वे उपविष्टाः)

नि -- (जनान्तिकम्) भट्टिदारिए, किं णु पुंणमासीचंदमंडलादो विअ इमस्स मुहादो अमुअरसनिस्संदो निस्सरइ ? (भर्तृदारिके, किं नु पौर्णमासीचन्द्रमण्डलादिव एतस्य मुखादमृतरसनिष्यन्दो निःसरति ?)

की -- (आत्मगतम्) एंतरं पेक्खंतस्स वि जणस्स चंदसिलामअं विअ अमुअरसणिस्संदणिब्भरं होइ हिअअं । (प्रकाशम्) हला, अग्गदो होहि । (एतदन्तरं प्रेक्षमाणस्यापि जनस्य चन्द्रशिलामयमिवामृतरसनिष्यन्दनिर्भरं भवति हृदयम् । (प्रकाशम्) हला, अग्रतो भव ।

नि -- अपुरुवपुरुसदंसणेण ण वड्ढाविदा भट्टिदारिआ । (तथा कृत्वा) (अपवारितकेन सस्मितम्) अइ, परिहरइ चंददंसणं कमलिणि त्ति सच्चो दाणिं लोअप्पवादो । (अपूर्वपुरुषदर्शनेन न वर्धापिता(?) भर्तृदारिका । (तथा कृत्वा) (अपवारितकेन सस्मितम्) अयि, परिहरति चन्द्रदर्शनं कमलिनीति सत्य इदानीं लोकप्रवादः ।

की -- (भ्रुकुटीकुटिलनिरीक्षितकेण निपुणिकां पश्यति).

कु -- आर्य, आश्चर्यदर्शनं हि कुतूहलस्थानं तदुच्यते । आकृतिप्रत्ययादेवास्या राजवंशाभिजनत्वमनाख्यातनिश्चितम्; किं तु--

सा राजपुत्री सुगृहीतनाम्नां
किंनामधेयं कुलमीश्वराणाम् ।
अन्वग्रहीज्जन्ममहोत्सवेन
श्रीरेव साक्षादिव सागराणाम् ॥ १९ ॥

का—श्रोतुमर्हति महाभागः । अस्ति शूरसेनो नाम जनपदः । तेषां स्वामी विख्यातकीर्तिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः,

अन्ये मन्युमहाभुजङ्गमितरे नीतिग्रहावग्रहं
प्राप्य प्राञ्जलयोऽपरे बलरजोवेतालरुद्धा दिशः ।
तन्त्रावापविदो नरेन्द्रपदवीं यातस्य यस्याधिकं
रक्षाभूतिमिवोद्वहन्ति शिरसा श्रीपादधूलीर्नृपाः ॥ २० ॥

कु—श्रूयते शूरसेनाधिपतिः कीर्तिषेणो देवः । स इदानीं मध्यमो मध्यमलोकपालानाम् । ततस्ततः ।

का—ततस्तस्येयमेका दुहिता प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी कीर्तिमती नाम ।

कु—हिमवतो ननु गङ्गा प्रभवति । किमर्थं पुनरिदानीम्—

हर्म्याग्रसञ्चरणदुर्ललितौ पुरे द्वौ
मञ्जीरमञ्जुरवशिञ्जितराजहंसौ ।
धत्तः पदं मुनिवने मनुजेन्द्रपुत्र्याः
प्रौढप्ररूढकुशकण्टकसीम्नि पादौ ॥ २१ ॥

का—एतदपि श्रूयताम् । सेयमपर्याप्तशैशवक्रीडारसैव—

यौवनारम्भयोगेन शोभामसदृशीं गता ।
शिक्षागुणविशेषेण सूरेरिव सरस्वती ॥ २२ ॥

कु—ततस्ततः ।

का—ततो यत् प्रतिपन्नयौवनासु पितृभिः प्रतिपत्तव्यं तद्भगवत्यनुमतेनैव वर्त्मना—इति कृतनिश्चयः स्वयमेव दुहितरं 'चण्डिकायतनं गत्वा कानिचिदहान्याराधयतु भगवतीं विन्ध्यवासिनीम्' इति साभिसरामेनामितः प्रेषितवान् यदुनाथः । भद्रं तव ।

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

1. The Educational Review, Madras.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.
3. Zeitschrift Fur Indologie Halle (Saale) Germany.
4. The Jaina Gazette, Madras.
5. Viswa-Bharathi Quarterly, Calcutta.
6. Andhra Sahitya Parishat-Patrika, Cocanada.
7. Maharajah's College Magazine, Vizianagaram.
8. The Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner (East khandesh).
9. Journal of Indian History, Madras.
10. The Mysore Economic Journal, Mysore.
11. The "Bharathi," Madras.
12. Nagari Pracharini Patrica, Benares.
13. The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.
14. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Banglore.
15. Journal of the K. R. Kama Institute, Bombay.
16. Journal of the B. B of the Royal Asiatic Society.
17. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
18. Asia Major, Liepsig.
19. Journal of the Madras Geographical Society, Madras.
20. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
21. Indian Journal of Economics, Allahabad.
22. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, Leiden.
23. Epigraphia Indica.
24. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Hyderabad.
25. Purâtatwa, Ahmedabad,
26. Sujâta, Hyderabad.
27. The Eastern Buddhist, Tokyo.
28. The Shrine of Wisdom, London.
29. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
30. Purâṇa Grandhamala, Pittapuram.
31. Modern Review, Calcutta.
32. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Calcutta.
33. Karnataka ,, ,, ,, Bangalore.
34. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
35. "Man in India", Ranchi.
36. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
37. Jayanti, Madras.
38. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Society, Washington.
39. Bulletins of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Publications from :—

40. Academic des Beaux-Arts, Institute, De France, Paris.
41. The Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
42. The Superintendent, Govt. Museum, Madras.
43. The Superintendent, Department of Archæology, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderbad (Deccan).
44. Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras.
45. Gesellschaft Der Wissenschatten Zu Gottingen.
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